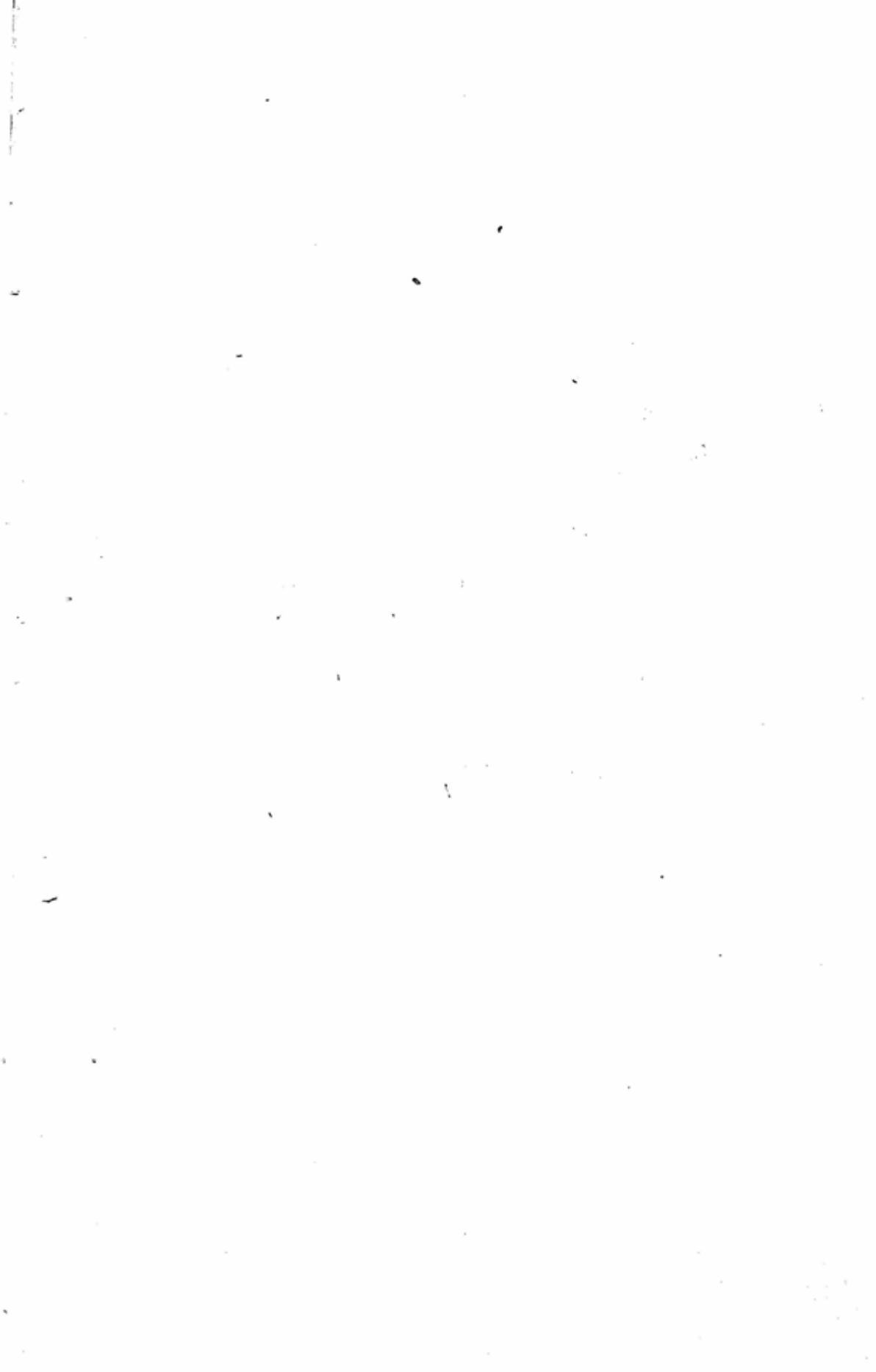


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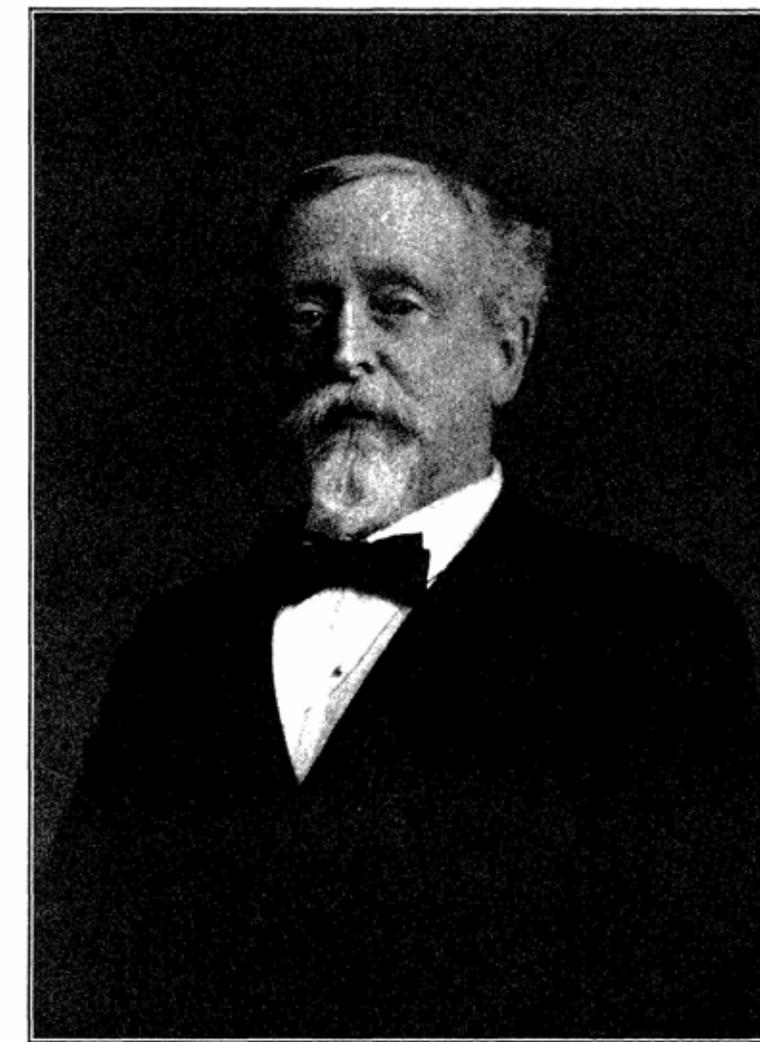
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PROFESSOR JOSEPH HENRY THAYER, D.D.

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VOL. VI

FOR 1924-1925

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THE STORY OF THE SCHOOL IN JERUSALEM

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY

For the inception of the idea of the American School in Jerusalem we have to look back thirty-one years. In his Presidential Address to the Society of Biblical Literature at its meeting in the Hartford Theological Seminary June 13, 1895, Professor J. Henry Thayer, of Harvard, first publicly broached the notion of an enterprise for the establishment of an "American School for Oriental Study and Research in Palestine" (see *JOURNAL* of that Society for 1895, pp. 16 ff.). So great an impression was made by Dr. Thayer's presentation that at once a committee, consisting of Professor T. F. Wright, E. L. Curtis and W. J. Beecher, was appointed to consider the recommendations of the President. The next day the committee reported resolutions favoring the establishment of such a School, which were at once adopted by the Society, and a large committee was appointed to undertake the enterprise, with Dr. Thayer as chairman. The passage of time is marked by the note that of this Committee of twenty-six members only six remain with us to-day, Drs. Gottheil, Lyon, G. F. Moore, Paton, Porter. (See the Proceedings in the same volume of the *JOURNAL*.)

At the next meeting of the Society held in Columbia College, December 27, 1895, this Committee reported; its recommendations were accepted, and it was instructed to proceed with definite plans. At the following meeting at Yale, June 4, 1896, the Committee, consisting of Drs. Thayer, Mitchell and Wright, presented a formal Report which was accepted by the Society. (See the Proceedings in the *JOURNAL* for 1896.) This laid out plans for the proposed School which actually formed its constitution throughout its younger life, until its legal incorporation in 1921. The School was to be established in Palestine (Beirut had also been considered), it was to be kept free from any denominational or institutional control, it was to be managed by a Committee of five members of the Biblical Society who were to be elected annually by the institutions and individuals contributing \$100 annually to the enterprise. And general regulations for Director, Associate Director, Fellows and Students were drawn up.

Meanwhile the American Oriental Society had taken cognizance of the enterprise and gave endorsement of it in action taken at Andover in April 1896. And in the Proceedings of the Biblical Society for 1898 (see *JOURNAL*, 1879) Dr. Thayer reported on negotiations with the Archaeological Institute of America, whose interest in the undertaking had been aroused. An understanding was formally drawn up whereby the President of the Institute

became an *ex officio* member of the Managing Committee of the School, the Chairman of the Managing Committee an *ex officio* member of the Council of the Institute; the Institute guaranteed an annual subsidy to the School and was given a prior right to the publication of distinctly archaeological material discovered by the School. (See Proceedings in the JOURNAL, Vol. 20, p. iv.) The Institute subsequently took a practical part in the support of the School (down to 1925) by a contribution of \$1000 for the maintenance of the Thayer Fellowship in Jerusalem, named after the Founder. The historical connection with these three honorable associations, the Society of Biblical Literature, the American Oriental Society and the American Institute of Archaeology, has since been legally perpetuated in the Charter of the Schools, which provides that each of them is given the appointment of a Trustee in the Corporation.

A circular letter definitely appealing for funds was published early in 1900, and in the summer of that year Dr. C. C. Torrey, of Yale, went out as first Director of the 'The American School for Oriental Study and Research in Palestine,' as the enterprise was then styled. Some \$2000 appears to have been the meagre capital of this venture of faith. Dr. Torrey proceeded first to Constantinople to obtain the necessary promises of authorization from the Ottoman Government (actual documents of recognition were not received until 1907), and thence to Jerusalem, where the coöperation of the American Consul, the Hon. Selah Merrill was secured. To his friendship the young School was greatly indebted. A room was taken in the Grand New Hotel as its first home. Accordingly, 1900 is the birth-year of the actual School in Jerusalem, and the present volume of the ANNUAL marks the completion of its first twenty-five years of existence.

The subsequent history of the School is given in full detail in the Reports of the officers in management of the School and of the Directors, as published in the *Bulletins* of the Archaeological Institute, and also in recent years in the BULLETIN of the Schools and in the papers of the ANNUAL now in its sixth volume. Through those years before the Great War it was a day of small things, with an Annual Professor going out to 'find himself' on a \$1000 stipend and a Fellow subsidized by the Institute, with only such hired quarters as might be secured. But those scholars as well as the students who accompanied them can vouch for the unbounded increment from that small investment in a stimulus of far-reaching effect not only to their own scholarship but to their future students. It has been learned by Biblical and Oriental students, somewhat later than by the Classicists, that study in the field is an essential part of the scholar's equipment, and it is a lesson which it is to the credit of our Schools that they have driven home in the

mind of American Biblical and Oriental scholarship both by the application of the idea and the opportunity offered for its fulfillment.

The accompanying list of the Directors, Professors and Fellows of the School gives a brief survey of its chronological history. Their place, in general, in American scholarship, and also their many direct contributions to archaeology, speak for the value of their experience. The following historical items may be noted in addition. In the beginning of 1906 the School moved from its hotel quarters to a rented house, while the need of a property of the School's own was becoming distinctly felt and steps were taken towards raising the necessary funds. Another change of quarters was made in 1907-8. Under Professor Harper's administration 1908-9 a plot of ground of 9000 square meters was purchased, the lot on which our School now stands. The purchase price was within \$12,000., a good investment as against its present rating on our books at \$20,000. value, and when now land is almost impossible to secure about Jerusalem. Owing to the stringency of the Ottoman law against alien tenure of real estate this property was held in the name of M. Antoine Gelat, Dragoman of the American Consulate, and although his responsibilities as a trustee, in any American sense of the word, were of the vaguest nature, he rendered back his full trust when the School was enabled by the Mandate Government in Jerusalem to own land in fee simple. It is a happy memory of that gentleman to record this signal instance of fidelity, one of many proofs of his invaluable service to the Schools. But our property, which we enclosed with a fine stone wall, remained fallow for many years, except in so far as M. Gelat planted it with olive trees to meet the excellent requirements of Ottoman law that land must be put to use.

Professor Gottheil's report, 1910, notes the hiring of Mr. and Mrs. Stahel as servants of the School, and Mrs. Stahel, along with her niece Marie, still remains with us, a most intelligent and devoted aid—without whom the Annual Professors would have fared ill in their ignorance of land and language.

In 1910 the name of the School was simplified to 'The American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem.'

In 1914 the War suspended the activities of the School, although it was formally in session under the then Director from October to December. It was placed in the trust of the American Consul, Dr. Glazebrook, whose many services to us in those troubled days are warmly remembered. We have to record that no harm was done to our property, even after the Consul's forced retirement from Jerusalem. And later it was occupied, with our ready consent, by the American Red Cross and other benevolent

agencies, Frau Stahel and her niece faithfully 'holding the fort' through those dark years.

The conclusion of the War in 1918 found the Managing Committee eager to resume operations. What follows is modern history and need only be summarized.

In 1919 Prof. Wm. H. Worrell was sent out to Jerusalem as Director, accompanied by Prof. A. T. Clay of Yale. These gentlemen first attended to necessary diplomatic negotiations in London and Paris, where they were given hearty support by the officials of the Allied Powers. They were later joined in Jerusalem by Dr. John P. Peters, the veteran archaeologist. And at the same time Dr. W. F. Albright, Fellow at Johns Hopkins, began his career in the School, as Fellow. An important advance step was taken by establishing close moral and physical relations with the new British School of Archaeology, and the knitting of close ties with the Dominican School, now become formally the French School. In 1920 Dr. Albright was appointed Acting Director, and in 1921 Director, a position he has filled successfully and brilliantly ever since. In 1921-22 the Management resumed the old-time practice of sending out an Annual Professor in addition to the permanent Director.

In 1921 the School was incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia. To give the Corporation the fullest scope for the establishment of other posts of research in the Orient, it assumed the legal title of 'American Schools of Oriental Research.' Of the list of the first Board of Trustees, death has removed the following names, to our irreparable loss: Professors Howard C. Butler, Albert T. Clay, Morris Jastrow, Jr., and Dr. James B. Nies.

In the same year the new Corporation undertook the establishment of the long prospected School in Baghdad. The Director and first proponent of that enterprise, Professor Barton, tells the interesting story of this School in another paper in this volume.

Meanwhile Dr. and Mrs. James B. Nies had announced their purpose to erect a building on the property of the Schools in Jerusalem. Upon Mrs. Nies' lamented death, Dr. Nies undertook personally to carry out her plans, and proceeded himself to Jerusalem in the spring of 1922 to initiate contracts and supervise construction of the building. But he died suddenly in Jerusalem, June 18, 1922. In his testament he left \$50,000 to the Schools for a building in Jerusalem, to be named 'The Jane Dows Nies Memorial'; \$10,000 as an endowment for the publication of researches; and the residue of his estate, after the termination of certain life interests, for exploration and excavation by the School in Baghdad. Delay in the plans was necessarily caused by the settlement of the estate and the necessity of proving our title

to our real property under the new Government, as also by changes in the building plans. In 1922 Professor Clay was again sent out to Jerusalem and Baghdad, and he and Dr. Albright and Mr. Ehmann, the architect (whose death has just been announced), drew up the plans which have been followed for the building. Construction was begun in 1924, the builder being M. Elias Gelat, who has continued to us the tradition of his father's loyalty. Last autumn the Director moved into the new building. Its cost has exceeded by some thousands of dollars the amount of the legacy, while the necessary furnishings have been an added expense. It is not yet wholly completed as planned, one wing being constructed only as far as the basement. It is not only an eminently practical building, but also from all reports, in its plain simplicity and harmony, a worthy addition to the modern architecture of Jerusalem.

The School under the earlier rotating Directors and with its meagre means was not able to engage in any extensive works, beyond a few small 'digs' and exploring trips, although several valuable studies were made and published. With the present permanent Directorship, the School has performed important service in the systematic surface exploration of the land, and geographical identifications. Dr. Albright has also pursued an important minor excavation at Tell-el-Ful (see ANNUAL IV), and is now opening the new quarter of a century with excavations at Kirjath-sepher and Tell-en-Nasbeh in conjunction, respectively, with Dr. Kyle and Dr. Badé. The attachment to our staff in 1925 of the distinguished archaeologist, Dr. Clarence S. Fisher, gives our field operations the ablest of skilled advice and supervision.

Last year a Summer School was undertaken with much uncertainty as to its success, but it proved fully worth while, and a second session is announced for the coming summer, so that it appears that this venture will be a permanent department of the School's activity.

Organs of publication have been established. One, the BULLETIN, a news-sheet devoted to the Schools, first appeared occasionally, 1919-1922, and since 1922 as a quarterly. The ANNUAL, which is partly financed by Dr. Nies' endowment, began publication in 1920 and has attained with this its sixth volume, under the successive editorships of Drs. Torrey, Moulton and Bacon. And a series of Researches will soon be begun by Dr. Chiera's forthcoming publication of several volumes bearing on his excavations near Kerkuk in Iraq.

Since the above lines were set up the welcome news has come to hand of a gift of \$20,000 from Miss Caroline Hazard of Peacedale, R. I., formerly President of Wellesley College, who has on former occasions come generously to our aid. The present gift is only indirectly to our benefit, its purpose being to establish an annual scholarship on a stipend of \$1000, for biblical

research in such schools as our own in Jerusalem and Baghdad. The incumbent will be chosen by the Faculty of Yale Divinity School, but in practical effect the gift will be of equal service to our Schools with the Thayer Fellowship formerly offered by the American Institute of Archaeology. It comes opportunely to mark our quarter-centennial.

The School in Jerusalem, now grown into a corporation with some very valuable assets and with a daughter in Baghdad, has thus a useful and honorable history. While the management cannot boast of a proportionate enlargement of the finances of the Schools, we may point with pride to the unselfish zeal and labors of those who have served in the field, types of true scholarship, and may boast of very large returns of solid worth to American scholarship on the basis of a very meagre investment in dollars.

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THE BAGHDAD SCHOOL

GEORGE A. BARTON

The idea of establishing a school of archaeology and research at Baghdad was suggested by Professor George A. Barton in 1913. The idea was well received and the Council of the Archaeological Institute of America at its annual meeting in December of that year appointed a Committee on Mesopotamian Archaeology to take the subject into consideration. The committee consisted of Professors G. A. Barton, Morris Jastrow Jr., Albert T. Clay, and Mitchell Carroll. Later, Dr. William Hayes Ward, Dr. James B. Nies, Dr. John P. Peters, and Mr. Edward T. Newell were added to the Committee. The World War broke upon the nations in August, 1914, and made immediate progress in the enterprise impossible. When Dr. William Hayes Ward died in August, 1916 it became known that, to encourage the plan in which he had become interested, he had bequeathed his valuable scientific library to such a school, if one were established in Babylonia within ten years after his death.

In 1919-20, the next year after the signing of the Armistice, the Mesopotamian Committee sent the late Professor Albert T. Clay, who was that year Annual Professor in the School at Jerusalem, on a reconnoitering tour to Mesopotamia to prepare, if possible, for the opening of a School of Research there. Professor Clay interested influential members of the government of Iraq in our undertaking, and arranged with the American Consul at Baghdad to house our work during its earliest years in the American Consulate there. On account of the aftermath of the Great War political conditions in the Near East made it unadvisable to take any further active steps until 1923.

Meantime when, in 1921, it was desired to incorporate the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, the Mesopotamian Committee of the Archaeological Institute merged its work with that of the Managing Committee of the School in Jerusalem, and the whole was incorporated as one organization under the name of The American Schools of Oriental Research. It was then planned that the School at Baghdad should be started in the same modest way as had been the School at Jerusalem, and should be operated in close connection with it, so that students could spend a part of the year at Jerusalem and a part at Baghdad. Since the School at Jerusalem had suffered from a lack of continuity of policy during its early years, when it had no permanent Director, and when a different Director had been borrowed each year from one of the contributing institutions, it was decided to choose a Director for the School at Baghdad at once, that some one might be responsible for the pursuance of a permanent and continuous policy of development,

even though living in America, and for this service Professor Barton was chosen.

On account of unsettled conditions in the Near East the School could not actually be opened until 1923. In that year Professor Albert T. Clay went to Baghdad as Annual Professor and Professor in Charge, and successfully inaugurated the work. He was accompanied by Dr. Edgar L. Hewitt as Honorary Lecturer in Archaeology, and by Dr. J. L. Magnes as Research Associate. Two students were enrolled during this session of the School: W. D. Carroll of Salina, Ohio, and Prescott Childs of Holyoke, Massachusetts. The session conducted by Professor Clay was comparatively short and, besides some public lectures, the work consisted mainly of a rapid survey of the most important archaeological mounds of Babylonia and Assyria, and of the work that was being done and had been done there.

Mrs. Jastrow had presented to the young Corporation the library of her husband, Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., who had suddenly died in 1921. The Assyriological portion of this library—some five hundred volumes—had been shipped to Baghdad in the summer of 1923, but did not arrive in time to be used while Professor Clay was there. These books, so generously given, form the nucleus of the School's future library and serve to connect with it forever the name of a brilliant scholar who was one of the School's earliest promoters.

During the year 1924-25 Professor Edward Chiera of the University of Pennsylvania went to Baghdad as Annual Professor and Professor in Charge, remaining in Iraq from the first of November to the first of May. By his energy, tact, and foresight Professor Chiera helped the School to find its immediate scientific task, and formed a helpful co-operative alliance with the Department of Antiquities of the Iraq government. With the approval of the Director he planned for the School to undertake an archaeological survey of Babylonia and Assyria, doing the work in sections year by year, and making an archaeological map. After he had served an apprenticeship with the English excavators then at work in Iraq, he was asked by Miss Gertrude Bell, Honorary Director of Antiquities in Iraq, to undertake an excavation of a place near Kirkuk where cuneiform tablets of a peculiar type had been found by natives. He thus conducted an excavation at Yalghan Tappa, which proved to be of great archaeological interest, excavating a house of a Hurri magnate who lived apparently about 2000 B.C. As the results of this work are described in another part of this volume, it is unnecessary to speak of it here in greater detail.

During the present academic year, 1925-26, Professor Raymond P. Dougherty of Goucher College has been Annual Professor and Professor in Charge. Professor Dougherty has, in accordance with the plan adopted during the

preceding year, begun the archaeological survey. He has explored and surveyed the region between the Shatt el-Khar, the old bed of the Euphrates, and the Shatt Hillah, one of the river's present streams. Starting from Nasiriyeh he first worked northwestward but later extended his survey to the eastward of the Shatt el-Khar and southward into the marshy sections of Southern Babylonia. His work has been successful, and will add much to our knowledge of the archaeological possibilities of that region.

The co-operation between the Baghdad School and the Department of Antiquities of the Iraq government has proved so satisfactory that, at the suggestion of Miss Bell, Honorary Director of the Department, quarters for our School have been provided in the new building of the Baghdad Museum on very advantageous terms, and Professor Dougherty has moved the library into the new quarters. The foundations for successful scientific work in the future are thus laid in mutual understanding between ourselves and the government, and the brilliant work of Professors Chiera and Dougherty augurs a long and useful career for the young School at Baghdad.

The following Annual Professors are under appointment for the future:

For 1926-27

Dr. Ephraim A. Speiser, of the University of Pennsylvania.

For 1927-28

Professor Leroy Waterman, of the University of Michigan.

THE JORDAN VALLEY IN THE BRONZE AGE¹

W. F. ALBRIGHT

To the archaeologist the extraordinary rift of the Jordan Valley presents hardly less interesting problems than to the physiographer. The vast majority of ancient sites in this region were already inhabited early in the Bronze Age, and most of them have since been abandoned. In fact, as we shall see, the population of the Jordan Valley in the third millennium B.C. must have been greater than it has ever been since. How shall we explain this curious fact, which apparently contradicts what we otherwise know of the relative population of Palestine in different periods?

It is not our place here to describe the geological and physiographical characteristics of the Jordan Valley. Let us recall that this valley is primarily a section of the great Miocene rift which stretches from Asia Minor to Central Africa, and thus shares a common origin with the Nile Valley. From Tell el-Qâdî to et-Tlâh we may travel nearly two hundred miles in a straight line, descending nearly all the way, and growing hotter all the time. The variation in altitude is some 1800 feet from Tell el-Qâdî, which lies about 500 feet above sea-level, to the surface of the Dead Sea, but this is small when compared with the average difference of about 3000 feet in the altitude of the Jordan Valley and that of the adjacent highlands. Moreover, it is so gradual that it is hardly noticeable, and naturally remained unknown in antiquity.

A careful study of the distribution of ancient sites in the Jordan Valley shows unmistakably that there has been no change in the location of the water-

¹ Note the following abbreviations: AE = Max Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*; AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*; AKFW = Burchardt, *Altkanaanäische Fremdwörter im Agyptischen*; AZ = *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*; B = *Biblica*; Bulletin = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*; Bulletin BSA = *Bulletin of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*; CAH = *Cambridge Ancient History*; Canaan = Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*; Céramique = Vincent, *Céramique de la Palestine (Union Académique Internationale, Classification des céramiques antiques)*; EA = Knudtzon-Weber-Ebeling, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*; ER = Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*; JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature*; JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*; Jericho = Sellin and Watzinger, *Jericho*; JPOS = *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*; JSOR = *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*; LD = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*; MDOG = *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*; OWJ = Dalman, *Orte und Wege Jesu*, third ed. 1924; PJB = *Palästinajahrbuch*; QS = *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*; RA = *Rivue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*; RB = *Revue Biblique*; ZATW = *Zeitschrift für Altestamentliche Wissenschaft*; ZDPV = *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*.

supply during the past few thousand years. Nor have I been able to find the least support for Ellsworth Huntington's theory of climatic cycles.² Ancient mounds are situated precisely where we should *a priori* expect to find them if the water-supply and the fertility of the neighborhood were the most important factors. As we shall presently see in our detailed survey of the sites, the distribution of mounds follows natural requirements fully in these two respects. On the other hand, we cannot but be surprised to find large mounds which must have been occupied for considerably more than a thousand years located in the midst of swamps where malaria has long held undisputed sway. We hope, however, to explain this seeming anomaly satisfactorily, without having recourse to the usual *deus ex machina*, namely, the hypothesis that malaria appeared suddenly at a comparatively late stage in the history of human civilization.

The present writer has studied the archaeological remains of the Jordan Valley on over a score of trips, short and long, and has visited all sections of the valley except the region between the Wâdî Yâbis and the Nahr ez-Zerqâ, which is hard to study under present circumstances, owing mainly to the hostility of the local tribesmen, especially the Suhûr. On all these expeditions great attention has been devoted to the collection of adequate samples of pottery from all sites visited. Our collections from Hirbet el-Kerak (Bêt-yerah) and Bâb ed-Drâ' are specially good, each consisting of over a thousand carefully selected pieces gathered from all parts of the sites in question. We also have good representative collections from Tell el-Qâdî (Laish-Dan), Tell en-Nâ'meh (Yanâ'am), Tell el-'Oreimeh (Chinnereth), Tell Eqlâtiyyah (Rakkath?), Tell ed-Duweir, Tell es-Sârem (Rehob), Tell et-Tôm, Tell el-Hammeh (Hammat), Hirbet Fahil (Pehel-Pella), Tell ed-Dâmieh, Tell Buleibil and other less important places. The two important sites of Tell es-Sultân (Jericho) and Tell el-Huṣn (Bethshan) have, of course, been partially excavated, so their evidence is available to all, at least so far as is necessary for our present purpose. The British School and Department of Antiquities have made surveys of limited areas, especially in the plain of el-Ghuweir (Gennesaret), as we shall see below.

Perhaps it may seem unnecessary to plead the cause of the pottery index for dating sites, but there have recently been some hints from scholars who are unacquainted with our methods to the effect that the accuracy of our results is questionable. It is true that certain archaeologists, notably Mr. Woolley,³ have used the pottery index in a light-hearted way for chronological

² See Huntington, *Palestine and its Transformation*, 1912. His views simplify history in such a way that they have been widely accepted, but such competent ancient historians as Olmstead reject them vigorously. Cf. AJSL XLI, 76, n. 2.

³ Cf. JPOS IV, 153, n. 2; ANNUAL, Vol. IV, p. 18; Vincent, *Syria*, 1924, pp. 309 f.

purposes, without taking the trouble to master details first. But the results of long and careful work on the part of Bliss and Macalister, following in Petrie's footsteps, have been to place the general development of Palestinian ceramics on a secure basis, fully confirmed by the excellent work of Watzinger at Jericho, when the necessary revision of his absolute dating has been made.⁴ The War has indeed created a hiatus in the archaeological history of Palestine, but this has by no means been wholly unfortunate, since it has led to a complete reexamination of the pottery sequence on the basis of new material, by men who had no first-hand knowledge of pre-war results. This new work, based upon the excavations of the British and American Schools, where particular attention has been paid to the ceramic data, leads to results which agree fully with the views of Père Vincent, now the foremost authority in Palestinian archaeology. Since Père Vincent's unequaled knowledge of pottery rests upon a generation of personal study and critical examination of the excavations of others, its accuracy should be beyond cavil. He has justly been selected by the ceramic committee of the Union académique internationale to prepare the official classification of Palestinian ceramics.⁵ The writer has again and again been struck by the independent corroborations of Père Vincent's pottery datings which he has found. Virtually all of the potsherds collected from the sites listed above have been examined by Père Vincent, while a large number have also been studied by Mr. Phythian-Adams, the pottery specialist of the British School, late Curator of the Government Museum. Our independent datings seldom differed by more than three centuries, even in the earlier periods, before 2000 B.C., regarding the exact chronology of which we still know so little. While the chronology of Palestinian pottery will probably always remain something of a mystery to the layman because of the rarity of painted decoration, it is almost, if not quite as well known as that of Aegean pottery, where the distinctions are so much more striking to the eye, and can be reproduced so much more adequately on paper.

and often in RB. Mr. Phythian-Adams has expressed himself in vigorous terms on this subject. After a careful study of Mr. Woolley's complete rearrangement of the fine pottery collection in the museum of the American University of Beirut, the writer fully appreciated for the first time just what is connoted by the word "Verschlimm-besserung"; the collection had previously been correctly arranged by no less an authority than Bliss.

⁴ Cf. JPOS II, 133 f. and below in the present article.

⁵ Cited under *Céramique*. It is a pity that the vases referred to could not have been reproduced on plates. It may be observed in this collection that Woolley's similar classification of Syrian ceramics is practically worthless, since it is not based on exact research, quite aside from the fact that very little is yet known in detail of the Bronze Age in Syria Proper.

With this apology for our faith, let us proceed to the discussion of individual sites, after which we shall consider the historical implications of our results.

North of Lake Hûleh is a broad and fertile plain, watered by several branches of the Jordan, and intersected by innumerable irrigating ditches. Even in dry years the Ard el-Hûleh is marshy in places, while in wet springs it is virtually impassable. The soil is very rich, and if properly drained would be extremely productive. It is dotted with ancient mounds, the most important of which are Tell en-Nâ'meh, Tell Šeih Yûsif and Tell el-Mellâhah, in order of size. The entire plain is dominated by Tell el-Qâdî, situated at the source of the Nahr Leddân, on the edge of a small plain several hundred feet above the Ard el-Hûleh. To the west rises Tell Âbil, toward the western edge of the Jordan Valley, about six hundred feet above Tell el-Qâdî. Turning eastward we reach Bânyâs about three miles beyond Tell el-Qâdî, on the eastern edge of the valley, at the same height as Tell Âbil. While we have picked up potsherds of the Early Bronze from the slopes of Tell Âbil, we have not yet been able to find any trace of pre-Roman occupation at Bânyâs, nor is there a true mound there. It is probable enough that there was a settlement here in the Bronze Age, since the site is excellent, but the identifications with Beth-rehab or Baal-gad, which have been proposed, are totally devoid of tangible basis. On the other hand, there is no doubt that Tell Âbil represents the ancient Abel-beth-maachah,⁶ nor that Tell el-Qâdî is Dan,⁷ since the evidence of names, literary references and archaeological data is in entire agreement, pointing imperiously to these identifications.

Tell el-Qâdî is a beautiful site, with a clearly marked acropolis which has attracted the attention of numerous scholars. Dr. F. J. Bliss, the excavator of Tell el-Hesî and the mounds of the Shephelah, wished to have the American School excavate this site, for which negotiations were actually begun, though dropped later for various reasons, principally lack of funds. The eastern part of the tell is higher than the western, and probably represents the site of the original town; fortunately it is free from the dense growth of trees,

⁶ Abel-beth-maachah is mentioned I Kings 15:20 with Ijon and Dan as North-Israelite towns captured by Ben-hadad I of Syria. The exact site of Ijon-'Iyyón is not known, but it has been justly connected with the Merj 'Ayyûn, though the site of Tell Dibbin is too far north, besides being more suitable for Egyptian *Tpn*. Topographically, onomastically and archaeologically the identification of Abel with Tell Âbil is faultless.

⁷ Quite aside from the biblical indications and the archaeological confirmation, which would alone be sufficient to make the identification of Dan with Tell el-Qâdî very probable, is the direct statement of the Onomasticon that the Byzantine village of Dan lay at the source of the Jordan, four miles from Paneas on the road to Tyre. A more precise localization could not be given.

many very large, which covers the western part of the mound. Irrigating ditches have been carried around the sides of the eastern part, exposing lower strata in several places. In this way it is possible to see that the Early Bronze stratum extends nearly to the top of the acropolis mound, which must, accordingly have been little built on in later times, perhaps because it was occupied by the sanctuary (compare the parallel situation at Byblos). At all events, there can be no doubt that Tell el-Qâdî was an important place in the Early Bronze, that is, in the third millennium B. C. Its name was then probably Lawis or Lawiš,⁸ the *R³-wy-s²* of the Tuthmosis list (no. 31, before

⁸ The writer has pointed out elsewhere that Canaanite-Hebrew *š* was pronounced *s* by the Amorite population. The interchange between *s* and *š* in Egyptian transcriptions of Semitic place-names from Palestine and Syria is due to the fact that the Egyptians heard these names both from Canaanites and from Amorites. That the Canaanites pronounced Hebrew *š* as *š* even at the beginning of the second millennium is now certain from the Egyptian transcriptions of Phoenician proper names found at Byblos. Thus Ipuš-šum-abti, prince of Byblos, writes his name in hieroglyphics as *'Ip-šm-lb.* This early transcription shows that the change from *s* to *š* (not the reverse; see Worrell, JPOS I, 19) in Canaanite occurred almost, if not quite as early as in Accadian (cf. Luckenbill, AJSL XL, 12; Luckenbill might have added that Assyrian preserved the original Accadian values of the sibilants, which were changed only in Babylonian). That the Amorites pronounced *š* as *s* about 2000 B. C. is shown by the transcriptions of Amurru proper names in cuneiform of the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The Amarna Tablets from Palestine show that in undoubtedly Amorite settlements, like Jerusalem (Ez. 16: 3), *š* was written as *s*. The Amarna Tablets are not altogether consistent, because they were influenced by the interchange of *s* and *š* in North-Mesopotamian, and the entire confusion of the Hittite orthography, owing to the fact that, as Forrer has demonstrated (cf. JEA XI, 20, n. 1), the Hittites had no *š* at all. The Egyptian transcriptions, on the other hand, are quite reliable in their treatment of the sibilants, and very valuable, since they enable us to distinguish more sharply than would otherwise be possible between the sections of the country where the Amorites prevailed and those where the Canaanite population was still in the majority. Laish, it may be noted, belongs in the distinctively Amorite part. The irregularity in the Egyptian transcription of sibilants in one and the same name, which may not infrequently be observed when one compares different inscriptions, is on a par with the similar modern phenomenon. All through Palestine the city dwellers have one pronunciation of names, the peasants another and the Bedawin a third. Thus the name of Tekoa is pronounced *Tgā'* by the local Ta'âmreh, *Tukā'* by the neighboring *fellâhîn* and *Tu'u'* by the muleteers from Jerusalem. 'Ain Kârim is pronounced so by the men of Jerusalem, but the local peasants say 'Ain Çârem. These pronunciations exist side by side today, as they have for centuries, and no one seems to make a mistake in reproducing a name according to his own dialect. A great deal of the irregularity found in foreign transcriptions of Palestinian place-names is due to ignorance of these simple rules of phonetic equivalence, which evidently were no clearer to the Egyptians than they are to the ordinary traveller of today. The change of Hebrew-Aramaic *s* to *š* took place after the settlement in Canaan, under the influence of the Canaanite pronunciation, and has nothing to do with the much earlier change

Hazor), and the Layiš, for *Lawiš,⁹ of the Old Testament. It was presumably the centre of the cult of the deity who dwelt in the source of the Jordan, an honor which was later transferred to Paneas, modern Bânyâs. To the sanctuary of this numen must be traced back ultimately the temple of Yahweh which stood there in Israelite times, served by a high-priest who claimed descent from Moses.

Next in importance to Tell el-Qâdî, among the mounds of this district, is Tell en-Nâ'meh, as the writer heard the name, or Hirbet Tell en-Nâ'am, as recorded in the survey map. Tell en-Nâ'meh is a mound of fair size, roughly oval in shape, and measuring about 200 by 175 paces. Since it is not very high, it is probably mostly artificial, that is, built originally on a slight rise of ground, which gradually rose as débris were deposited. The pottery found on the sides and the summit is practically all from the Bronze Age, all three periods of which are represented; the apparent lack of Early Iron sherds shows that the place was abandoned at the end of the Late Bronze Age or very shortly after. Since the area of the site is relatively large, being nearly half that of Megiddo, Tell en-Nâ'meh must have been a town of enough importance to be mentioned in our literary sources. There is a suitable identification at hand, first proposed by Clauss some twenty years ago,¹⁰ with the Egyptian *Yn'm* and the Amarna Yanuamma. Since our site is not suitably indicated in the Survey map, Clauss identified Yanuamma with the modern village of en-Nâ'meh, a mile and a half north of the tell which bears the name. No other scholar seems to have taken seriously this identification (based mainly on the similarity in name), partly because the modern name was misspelled as en-Nâ'ame, a good Arabic place-name. The writer first thought of the identification quite independently of Clauss.

Yn'm is first mentioned in our inscriptional sources by Tuthmosis III,¹¹ who conquered the three towns of *I-n-yw-g-s³*, *Y-nw-³-mw* and *Hw-r-n-k³-rw* from the prince of Kadesh toward the end of the first campaign (B. C. 1482).¹² Afterwards he presented all three of these towns to the god Amôn. Since these are the only towns in the territory belonging to the prince of Kadesh which were captured during this campaign, and since the greater part of the campaign had been devoted to the siege of Megiddo, they cannot be placed far

which we have been considering; the writer has briefly discussed it AJSL XLI, 84, n. 1. For the Amorite pronunciation of the sibilants cf. also JPOS II, 124 f., note.

* The name *Lawiš-Layiš* may mean "Lion," Heb. *layiš*, Assyr. *nēšu*. Whether the name has a mythological or a metaphorical origin is beyond us.

¹⁰ ZDPV XXX, 34-5. Cf. EA 1291 f.

¹¹ Sethe, *Urkunden*, IV, 744; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, Vol. II, § 557.

¹² For the date cf. Sethe, *Nachrichten d. kön. Ges. d. Wiss.*, Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1919, p. 289, and Breasted, CAH II, 66, n. 1.

to the north. On the other hand they are apparently not in Galilee proper, since none are mentioned in other lists of towns known to be in Galilee. '*I-n-yw-g-s³*' has often been identified with Nuhašši in Northern Syria, but this identification is apparently wrong.¹³ '*Hw-r-n-k²-rw*' is probably to be identified with *H³-r²-k²-r²*, as thought by Maspero and Max Müller.¹⁴ The latter mentioned in the Tuthmosis List (no. 101) after *Tpn*,¹⁵ Abel,¹⁶ *Y-rw-lw*, and before *Ya'qob-el*,¹⁷ *Q²-pw-t*,¹⁸ *Q²-dy-rw*,¹⁹ *R-b²-lw*,²⁰ is evidently located in the southern Biqā'.²¹

The next mention of the place is in the fourth letter of Namyawaza, prince of Tahši (?)²² north of Damascus, to the Pharaoh (Amarna, no. 197, 8). Namyawaza complains that Biridašwa has declared war against him, whereupon Yanuamma has closed its gates on him. Still worse, the princes of Buṣrūna-Boṣrah and Ḥalunni,²³ in the Haurān, have made common cause with Biridašwa, who, to crown all, has given chariots belonging apparently to Aštarite-Aštarōt into the possession of the Habiru, presumably to purchase their assistance against Namyawaza. The situation requires the location of Yanuamma somewhere in the region between Damascus and southern Haurān. In view of the fact that it had previously been under the control of the prince

¹³ Contrast JEA X, 6, n. 3; XI, 22; AJS XL, 125 ff. The equivalence of Eg. *g* and cun. *b* through an original *gh* (written in Hebrew as 'ayin) is beyond dispute; cf. the additional case of Amarna *Ruḥizzī* = Eg. *Rgd*.

¹⁴ Cf. EA 200.

¹⁵ Probably Tell Dibbin north of Merj 'Ayyān.

¹⁶ Which Abel is meant cannot easily be determined. Among possible identifications may be mentioned Abel-beth-maachah, Abila of Lysanias (Sūq Wādī Bāradā) and Abila east of Gadara. Other Abels are known, as Abila = Abel-haš-Sittim, Abel-keramim, Abel-meholah, etc. In the Tuthmosis List no fewer than four Abels occur (nos. 15, 90, 92, 99), the last of which may be Abel-beth-maachah.

¹⁷ The place is not known; identifications with Penuel, etc., are quite nebulous. The name *Ya'qob-el* is the same as that of the Patriarch Jacob, but was certainly common in the second millennium, and probably has no connexion with him. It is, however, possible that Jacob's connexion with Transjordan is partly based upon a combination with this name, which afterwards disappeared from the sources.

¹⁸ A *Gebat* or *Geböt*, perhaps modern Jebātā el-Ḥašab east of Bāniās.

¹⁹ A Gezer in northern Transjordan. The Gezer of Western Palestine is written the same way: *Q²-d²-r²*, with which cf. the variant *Q²-dy-r²* of the Tuthmosis List.

²⁰ A *Rabbat* or *Rabböt*, perhaps Rabbath-ammon, where the writer has found Bronze Age potsherds (below the citadel).

²¹ Cf. EA No. 197, lines 18 f., which connect him particularly with Tahši.

²² Ḥalunni is perhaps the 'rn of the Tuthmosis List, no. 27, which can hardly be 'Arōn of Carmel, modern Tell 'Ārā. A connexion with the name of the Nahr 'Allān, between Jōlān and Haurān, is quite possible, though the name no longer survives as that of a town.

of Kadesh, it is most natural to look for it in the country between the Biqâ' proper and Haurân, that is, north or northeast of Lake Hûleh.

The next occurrence of the town in Egyptian sources is in the first campaign of Sethos I (B. C. 1314). The second Beth-shan stela of this monarch, after describing briefly his intervention in the war between Pella and Hammat on the one side and Beth-shan and Rehob on the other, states that he sent three Egyptian divisions to occupy the principal foci of unrest: the Division of Amân to Hammat, that of Ré^c to Beth-shan, and that of Sûteh to *Yn'm*. The latter has not been mentioned previously in the account of the campaign, so it would appear that it has no direct connexion with the events which transpired in the Beth-shan region (for which see the discussion below). From the Karnak reliefs of Sethos it appears that *Yn'm* was a forest-girt town on the southern border of Lebanon, since the fall of the place was followed by the submission of a number of petty princes of Lebanon.²³ In the Karnak lists of conquered places in Syria we find various arrangements: 'Akkô—Hammat—Pehel (Pella)—Bêt-šal (Beth-shan)—*Yn'm*—*Qmhm*—Ullaza—Kumidi—Tyre—Úsô²⁴ (*Palaetyrus*)—Bêt-anat;²⁵ Pella—Hammat—Bêt-šal—*Yn'm*—*Qmhm*—'Akkô;²⁶ similar, but slightly different palimpsest lists, published by Müller.²⁷ While exact results cannot be drawn from these lists, it is interesting to note that *Yn'm* appears between the group Hammat-Pella-Beth-shan and the group of northern towns beginning with *Qmhm* and passing from the Biqâ' (Kumidi—Kâmid el-Loz) to the Phoenician coast (Ullaza, Tyre, Úsô, 'Akkô). A location north of Lake Hûleh would agree excellently with these indications.

The Israel Stela of Meyneptah also mentions *Yn'm* among the Palestinian towns which had rebelled against him and been subdued. Nothing, however, can be learned as to its location from the sequence Ashkelon, Gezer, *Yn'm*. The latest occurrence of the name is in the Medînet Habû list of Rameses III, long supposed to be without independent historical value.²⁸ Now, however, that a statue of Rameses III has been discovered in the fortress of Sethos and Rameses II at Beth-shan, we may hesitate to go to this length, though the order seems rather hopeless and there are numerous mistakes of sheer

²³ Cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, Vol. III, § 89 ff.

²⁴ There can be no doubt that the Egyptian *'Iw-iw*, Amarna *Uzû* and Assyrian *Uša* were all pronounced *Úsô*, with the common *-ô*-suffix (cf. ANNUAL, Vol. II-III, p. 6, n. 6). For the form cf. also the *Úsôus* (*'Oυσῶος*) of Philo Byblius. The site of *Úsô* is the fine mound of Tell Rašidiyah near Râs el-'Ain, Greek *Palaetyrus*; cf. EA 1247.

²⁵ LD 131a from temple at Qurnah.

²⁶ ER I, 45 f. and plate 59b, 1 ff.

²⁷ ER I, 43 ff. and plate 58.

²⁸ ER I, 48 ff. and plate 68.

carelessness. Lines 77-82 give us the following place-names: *Hy-bw-r³*, *Y-nw-mw*, *Dw-r³-b³-n-tw*, *'I-p³-q³*, *'I-b³-hy*, *My-k-ty-r³*—that is, Helbon-Chalybon (?), *Yn(')m*, *Drbnt*,²⁹ Afeq-Aphaka, Ihibe (?), Magdal. Helbon, modern Halbūn, lies just north of Damascus, but our identification is very doubtful, though metatheses do occur not infrequently in these lists. Aphaka is modern Afqā, half-way between Byblos and Ba'albek. Ihibe is mentioned in the Mitannian letter of Tušratta as a city (in Syria?) to which Amenophis III is sending votive offerings,³⁰ but its exact location is unknown. Magdal is presumably the Magdal of the Biqā', mentioned in the Amarna Letters.³¹ Our list therefore seems to favor a location of *Yn'm* in the neighborhood of the Biqā', in entire agreement with the other indications.

There is still another mention of the name, if we are right, which possesses geographical value. In the geographical sketch of Palestine and Syria given in the Papyrus Anastasi I, 21:6-22:1, we read (Gardiner's translation): "The Maher—where does he make the journey to Hazor? What is its stream like? Put me on the route of Hammat, *Dgr* and *Dgr-el*, the playground of all Mahers. Pray teach me about his road. Make me behold *Y'-3-m[w]*! If one is travelling to *'Idmm*, whither turns the face?" Gardiner reads *Y'-3-n[]*, but the reading *m[w]* instead of *n* is just as possible, and more probable because of the preceding *'3*, since *'3-mw* usually occur together as the regular orthography of '*am*, "folk," in proper names. The form *Y'-3-mw* is naturally a mistake for *Y-nw-'3-mw*, just as we have *Y-nw-mw* for the latter in the list of Rameses III, discussed above. Hazor was formerly placed in the immediate vicinity of Kadesh-Naphtali and identified with Tell el-Harrah or with Hirbet el-Hureibeh, neither of which possess early remains. Now, however, both Dalman and the writer have reached the independent conclusion that Hazor belongs with Hirbet Hazzur, northeast of the Sahel el-Battōf.³² The early Canaanite town may be provisionally located at el-Mughār, just southeast of Hirbet Hazzūr, which appears to be later; the writer has not yet had an opportunity to study these sites exhaustively. The brook (*hd*=brook, stream, waterfall) of Hazor referred to in the papyrus is presumably the perennial course of the Wādi Sellāmeh, with numerous old mills. The next place mentioned, Hammat, is hardly the Hammat near Beth-shan, modern Tell el-Hamimeh, since Rehob and Beth-shan are later mentioned together in connexion with towns of the Plain of Esdraelon. Since it is spoken of as the playground or place of promenade (*t3 ist swtwt*) of Mahers, it should probably

²⁹ Var. *Trbnt*. Cf. the Anatolian place-name *Durmitta* = *D(T)urbint*, Garstang, *Index of Hittite Names*, p. 13.

³⁰ Cf. EA 1057.

³¹ Cf. EA 1283.

³² Cf. PJB 1922/3, 50 f.

be identified with the hot springs of Tiberias, called Hammath in the Old Testament, or, less probably, with the hot springs of el-Hammeh on the Yarmûk, where the writer has picked up sporadic Bronze Age sherds, as has also Père Vincent. These hot springs have naturally been a popular resort both for sick people and persons in search of amusement since the earliest times. The two towns of *Dgr* and *Dgr-el* mentioned with Hammat are obscure; one suspects corruption and thinks of Magdal-Magdala (Magdal Nûnâyâ) just north of Tiberias, and Migdal-el of Naphtali, or of Gader-Gadara (Umm Qeis) and the neighboring Magdal Sabbâ'âyâ), both near el-Hammeh on the Yarmûk. *'Idmm*, evidently an Adummim, is not otherwise known, unless it is to be identified with a Dâmieh. The general sequence of names, however, points to a location in Galilee for *Yn'm*, which was therefore situated between the Biqâ', the Damascene, Haurân and Galilee, or in the immediate neighborhood of Tell en-Nâ'meh, where we have placed it.³³

Thanks to the Egyptian transcription *Yn'm*, which fixes the consonants, the cuneiform *Yanuamma*, which fixes the approximate vocalization, and the modern equivalent *en-Nâ'am* or *en-Nâ'meh*, which furnishes a check on both, we are in a position to establish the exact form of the ancient name. *Yn'm* is evidently a name like *Yiqne'am*,³⁴ *Yible'am*, **Yispar'am*,³⁵ *Yogre'am*,³⁶ etc., composed of a verb in the third person imperfect or jussive and the element 'am, "people." Eduard Meyer has suggested a derivation from the stem of Heb. *nawêh*, "settlement, habitation," so that the name would mean "The people settles," or the like.³⁷ It is true that this very element appears in the name *Nawê-Nawâ*, older *Nawôn*, if our identification with no. 75 of the

³³ Other references to the occurrence of the name in Egyptian sources, but without any topographical bearing, are given by Burchardt, AKFW, no. 219. It should be noted that there was another *Yanô'am* in Galilee, now Tell en-Nâ'am southwest of Tiberias, east of Sârônâ, but the mound is too small to come into consideration for our *Yanô'am*.

³⁴ The Hebrew orthography *Yogne'am* is secondary. The LXX shows that the original form was *Yiqne'am*, as we should expect. The Eg. spelling 'n-qn'm, for 'En-qin'am, which occurs twice (Müller, ER II, 192), is no objection to the identification with *Yiqne'am*, as Müller thought, since the writer has shown that the alternation of *Yiqne'am* with *Qin'am* is perfectly regular; cf. ANNUAL II-III, 24, n. 10.

³⁵ For *Yispar'am-Sefar'am* see ANNUAL, loc. cit.

³⁶ The Hebrew text of Jos. 15: 56 offers the form *Yogde'am*, but the LXX seems to agree with I Chr. 2: 44, which offers *Yorgé'am*. Both are enigmatic, so the writer would suggest an original *Yogre'am*, lit. "the people is met (with welcome), is invited." The passive of the *gal* is quite in place here, but in *Yogne'am*, for instance, it would mean "the people is acquired, is possessed," certainly not a very creditable significance. One suspects that the Masoretic pointing of *Yogne'am* has been influenced by the pronunciation of the similar Judaean name as a passive.

³⁷ ZATW VI, 7; cf. AE 201.

Tuthmosis List is correct.³⁸ The form might then be *Yanū'am*, with the jussive *yánū* (like *Yáhû* from *Yahwéh*).³⁹ The modern form of the name decides against this interpretation, however, since *en-Nā'am* may represent *Yanō'am*, but not *Yanū'am*.⁴⁰ The former vocalization indicates a hollow verb, *mediae waw*, which regularly forms its jussive in *ô*. There are two possibilities: *nw'* and *nwh*, where the final weak laryngeal would be assimilated to the following 'ayin. The former cannot be considered, so we must turn to the latter, from which the common Palestinian place-name *Yanōh* (*Janoah*) has been formed. In Central Palestine there is one *Yanōh*, modern *Yānūn*,⁴¹ and in Galilee there are two (both modern *Yānūh*), one of which is mentioned in the Bible. The name *Yanōh* is obviously contracted from *Yanōh-el*, or the like; a contraction from *Yanōh-'am* might be possible, and might be taken to favor Max Müller's idea that *Yn'm* might be identical with *Yānūh* east of Tyre, and might perhaps be the more correct older name of *Yanōh-Yānūh*.⁴² As shown above, however, the documentary sources require a position further east, toward Damascus, so that our identification appears certain. At all events, *Yanō'am* probably stands for *Yanō'am*, *Yanōh'am*; the partial assimilation is perfectly regular and often paralleled in Modern Arabic, since 'ayin and *ha* are corresponding voiced and voiceless laryngeals. The modern *en-Nā'am* for *Yenō'am*, *Yanō'am* is like *er-Rīhah* (= *Erihā*), the modern form of the name *Yerīhō*. *En-Nā'meh* is like *Bēl'ameh* for *Yibl'am-Bil'am*, and may be paralleled often in Modern Arabic forms of ancient place-names.

In the preceding pages we have traced the documentary references to *Yanō'am* from the beginning of the fifteenth century to the beginning of the twelfth. The town must have been destroyed and abandoned soon afterwards, in view of the absence of all later references in the Bible and the cuneiform inscriptions, and of the lack of pottery from the Early Iron Age on the site.

³⁸ Later forms of the name are *Noŋ*, Gerza papyrus from the middle of the third century B. C. (cf. Abel, RB 1923, 412 f.); Byzantine *Neŋη*, identified by Eusebius with *Ninevη* (*Onom.* Klostermann, p. 136, 2); Talm. נִינְוֵה, identified directly with the name *Ninwēh*, Nineveh.

³⁹ Cf. JBL XLIII, 373 f.

⁴⁰ In Arabic derivatives of Hebrew place-names *ô* becomes either directly *â* (there being no *ô* in Classical Arabic) or it is changed by back-formation to *â* (on the analogy of *râs* = *rôš*, *lisân* = *lašôn*, etc., etc.). Arabic *â*, however, never represents older *ô*, which is retained.

⁴¹ Cf. JBL XLIII, 374, n. 22. It is interesting to note that the early Arabs, who were very active in their search for holy sites, "discovered" that the name *Yānūn* was identical with that of Nun, the father of Joshua, so they established the cult of Nebî Nûn at the site of ancient *Yanōh*! This phenomenon is exceedingly common in the Islamic East.

⁴² AE 394 (note on p. 201).

Since the only destructive invaders in this part of Palestine of whom we have any knowledge at that time were the Israelites, it is probable that Yanô'am was destroyed by the Danites who settled at Tell el-Qâdî about 1150 B. C.,⁴³ a date which accords admirably with the archaeological indications.

There are several other mounds in the plain north of Lake Hûleh, but all are much smaller than Tell en-Nâ'meh. The largest is Tell Seih Yûsif, about a mile and a half east of the latter. Of the other, still smaller ones we may mention Tell Zahmûl, just northeast of the lake, which the writer has not visited, and Tell el-Mellâhah, opposite it, northwest of the lake. The latter is covered with a late Arab deposit of occupation, so that it is difficult to determine early occupation, since the mound is rather low, and the sides are not steep. A few Bronze Age sherds were found, however, proving an occupation in the early period. The place was never very important. The mounds of Tell Abâlis, Tell el-'Oreimeh and et-Teleil, along the western shore of Lake Hûleh, are very low and insignificant, while the pottery on them is entirely Arabic. It may be that their core is formed by débris of older settlements, but the latter were at best very unimportant.

The Jordan Valley between Lake Hûleh and the Sea of Galilee is a narrow gorge, the steep slopes of which are most unsuited for human settlement. Just north of the Sea of Galilee, however, the valley widens out, forming a small plain intersected by several branches of the Jordan. In the north-eastern part of this little plain, known as el-Buteïhah, is the site of Bethsaida Julias, now et-Tell. The writer has not had time to examine the site carefully, but the rounded contours of the hill are not favorable to the supposition that there was a fortified Bronze Age town here, since the ruins of such a town almost invariably assume the unmistakable form of a truncated cone.

As we move down the western shore of the sea, we pass Tell Hûm, ancient Capernaum, which was not occupied until the Hellenistic Age, as shown by the excavations there. The site is not at all suited to the requirements of the Bronze Age, since it is indefensible and destitute of tillable soil, being strewn with basalt boulders. Two miles further on lies Tell el-'Oreimeh, a small mound on the summit of a hill overlooking et-Tâbghah. The position is very strong and surrounded by springs. The nearness of the Sea of Galilee might indeed have made the springs, many of which are brackish, superfluous, for human use, but the value of the latter for irrigating purposes remained. Tell el-'Oreimeh was examined by Karge before the War and numerous vases and bronze weapons were found. His trenches are still open, and furnish our collections with quantities of Late Bronze and Early Iron pottery. The history of the mound begins not earlier, it would seem, than the Middle Bronze,

⁴³ Cf. ANNUAL, Vol. IV, p. 48.

though the hill itself was occupied by palaeolithic man, as shown by the numerous artifacts of the Palaeolithic and Early Mesolithic found on the hill and in the environs. It may be that the occupation of Tell el-'Oreimeh in historic times was preceded by that of Tell el-Mureibid,⁴⁴ about half-a-mile to the south, where Early Bronze ware has been found. Tell el-'Oreimeh was abandoned early in the Iron Age—not later than the tenth century. It is probably the site of Chinnereth, as seen independently by Dalman⁴⁵ and the writer,⁴⁶ since Jos. 19:35 gives the order Hammath (el-Hammām, Hammat Tiberia of the Talmud), Rakkath (near Tiberias; see below), Chinnereth. In Egyptian sources it is mentioned once (Tuthmosis List, no. 34) as *K-n-n³-r³-tw*, after Lawiš (Laish), Ḥaṣōr (Hazor), Peḥel (Pella), and before Šim'ōn (Šamħuna-Šim'ōn-Simonias),⁴⁷ Adummām,⁴⁸ Qišōn,⁴⁹ Sūnem, Miš'al and Akšap.⁵⁰ This list is not, however, in geographical order, and does not allow any conclusion more definite than that it lay somewhere in eastern Galilee, which would be certain anyway, since it belonged to the tribe of Naphtali. An argument of some weight may be drawn from the fact that the Sea of Galilee was called by the Hebrews *yam Kinneret*, after the town.

⁴⁴ The name should be Tell el-Hunūd, "Mound of the Hindus," according to Dalman, PJB 1922/3, 74.

⁴⁵ OWJ 140.

⁴⁶ BULLETIN no. 11, p. 14.

⁴⁷ The reading *Šmn* is also possible, but is not obligatory.

⁴⁸ Written *I-t-y-m-m*; cf. the *Iw-d³-my-my* of Anastasi I, 22, 1. Perhaps the Adamah of Naphtali, modern ed-Dāmieh, but cf. note 120, below.

⁴⁹ Written *Q³-sw-n³*, certainly the *קִישׁוֹן* of Issachar, which should be read *Qišōn*, with the Greek. The site is unknown; Tell Qisān in the Plain of Acre is a fine mound with Bronze Age remains, but does not suit the topographical requirements of *Qišōn*. Besides, there is a possibility that *Quddašuna* (Eg. *K-t-sw-n³*, etc.) of the Amarna Tablets was located at Tell Qisān, as suggested originally by Sayee. The present name may then have been assimilated to the familiar name of the nearby river Kishon while the latter was still in use.

⁵⁰ Akšap (Achshaph) is now mentioned in the new Amarna Tablets published by Thureau-Dangin (no. 5) as an important town near Akka (Acre). From the sequence of the biblical context, Jos. 19:24 ff., together with the cuneiform material, it seems highly probable that it should be sought in et-Tell on the Nahr Mefšūḥ, northeast of Acre. Nor is it impossible that the very name *Mefšūḥ* is a transposition (with popular etymology: "something split") of an original **Maḥšūf*, bearing the same relation to the dissimilated form *Akšaf* (pronounced *Aḥšaf*; cf. *Muḥmās* for *Mikmās*, etc.) as *Mhlb* (= Assyr. *Maḥalliba*) does to *Aḥlab*. Since all these place-names with prothetic alef (*Akšaf*, *Aḥlab*, *Akzib*) on the Phoenician coast have labial consonants, it is evident that the forms have arisen by dissimilation, just as the initial *m* in Assyrian nouns containing labials has always become *n* (Barth's law). The ă-vowel is then due to the fact that the Phoenicians obscured every stressed *a*, which became *qames* in later Hebrew, while the resulting *ə* had to become *ə* in Arabic.

Now in later times the Sea received the name *Ginnesar*, *Gennesaret*, from the plain of the same name (Heb. *Biq'at Ginnesar*), itself called after the town of Ginnesar.⁵¹ The plain doubtless was always called after its most important town; the present name el-Ghuweir was given it in default of the existence of a town in this district. In earlier times el-Ghuweir was controlled by Tell el-'Oreimeh, which, in the absence of a rival claimant, has exclusive right to the identification with Chinnereth. The name is justly compared with Heb. *kinnôr*, "lute, harp," which passed into Egyptian from the older Canaanite.⁵² Since it belongs properly to the town, it cannot be explained by the fancied resemblance of the Sea to a harp; it may, however, be noted that the hill on which Tell el-'Oreimeh stands does bear a striking resemblance to a harp, when seen from the south (cf. the cut, ANNUAL, Vol. II-III, p. 37).

Our next early site overlooking the Sea from the west is Tell el-Qaneîtrîyah or Tell Eqlâtiyah,⁵³ on a hill rising just above 'Ain el-Fuliyeh. There is little débris, and the hill has preserved its natural shape, with little modification. The pottery strewn over the summit and the sides is Bronze Age in date, but belongs mainly to the Early and Middle Bronze, Late Bronze being poorly represented, and Early Iron apparently not at all. It is quite possible, as the writer has elsewhere suggested, that the earliest town of Rakkath was situated here; the town of the Israelite period perhaps lay under the Roman village at the foot of the hill, or under modern Tiberias, if we are to accept the Talmudic tradition that Tiberias was founded on the site of the older Rakkath. The name *Raqqat* itself can hardly be separated from Assyr. *raqqatu* and Arabic *raqqah* (whence the modern name *Raqqah* of the ancient Nicephorium on the Middle Euphrates). These words may mean "swamp," but they are also used of river bottoms in both languages, so we need not infer that the town was originally built in a swampy neighborhood, though it must be admitted that the identification with Tell Eqlâtiyah is a *lucus a non lucendo* which is only proposed because of the archaeological exigencies of the case.

It is not likely that there was a Bronze Age town at the hot springs of Tiberias; the town of Hammath is probably an Iron Age foundation, since there is no trace of a mound near the site. It is quite possible, however, that there was a small settlement by the hot springs of Tiberias at a very early date, just as in the case of the hot springs of Gadara. The Iron Age settlement was probably only just important enough to be included in the list of towns of Naphtali, and its remains are presumably buried under the débris

⁵¹ Cf. Dalman, OWJ 133, 138 f.

⁵² Burchardt, AKFW, no. 990.

⁵³ For this name cf. ANNUAL, Vol. II-III, p. 43, n. 34.

around the baths. Soundings should be made here, in any case, since we cannot be sure of the exact location, in the absence of any archaeological confirmation.

The district of Tiberias was in pre-Israelite times under the control of the Canaanite royal city of Madon, the ruins of which lie on the summit of Qarn Haṭṭîn, while the name is perpetuated in the neighboring ruins of Hirbet Madîn.⁵⁴ The massive walls of rough basaltic blocks and the Bronze Age pottery unite in establishing the existence here of an important fortified town of the Canaanites. Since it lies far above the Jordan Valley, however, it is outside the purview of our study.

On the eastern side of the Sea there are no ancient mounds, since the mountains descend so abruptly to the coast that there is very little tillable soil, the *sine qua non* of a flourishing settlement in Bronze Age Palestine. We therefore come to Hirbet Kerak, at the extreme southern end of the Sea, on a peninsula lying between the Sea and the mouth of the Jordan. Hirbet Kerak is perhaps the most remarkable Bronze Age site in all Palestine, and deserves an extended treatment, especially since we have made an exhaustive surface examination of the site in several productive visits. The mound is very large, extending southward along the lake from a point opposite Hirbet Sinn en-Nabrah (Sinnabrah), now occupied by the Jewish colony of Chinnereth, to the mouth of the Jordan, a distance of about three-quarters of a mile, or over a kilometre. The average breadth of the mound is nearly 300 paces, so the total area is not far from sixty acres, or twenty-five hectares. This would make its extent over four times as great as that of Megiddo. The distribution of potsherds is easy to study, since there is a scarp along the entire lake frontage of the site, while the main road from Tiberias to Semâh has been cut through the very middle of the mound, from one end to the other. Débris containing potsherds and other artifacts appear at all points of the site thus exposed except the northeastern part, along the lake front. Since the evidence of the road cutting proves that the city extended this far, we may suppose that the northeastern corner, though clearly within the walls, was left open for threshing floors or a market-place.

In several visits the members of the American School have collected quantities of characteristic sherds, after discarding a vast number. Most of the sherds on the summit belong to the Hellenistic-Roman town of Philoteria, but beneath this thin late stratum is a thick deposit, many metres deep, from the Early and Middle Bronze, especially the former. From the lake-front of the site, as well as from the sides of the road, cut partly into the center of the mound, as we have seen, it is possible to collect innumerable sherds

⁵⁴ Cf. Dalman, PJB X, 42.

belonging to the early stratum. Cuts of this pottery will be published in due course; meanwhile we shall describe briefly some of the principal types. The forms of vessels are varied, including jugs, pots, bowls, plates, flasks, oenochoes and juglets, etc. The bottoms are both flat and rounded; no ring-bases were found. Handles are generally loop, the shape of the section varying from a flat oval in larger vessels to a round section in juglets. We found no true lug handles, though a few approximated that type. Ledge-handles were rare, and the typical long, narrow wavy ledge-handle of the Early Bronze in southern Palestine was hardly represented at all. The typical ledge-handle of Hirbet Kerak is short and smooth, but projects four to six centimetres from the body of the vessel. Few spouts were found; a characteristic form is the short cylindrical spout projecting slightly upwards from below the rim of a bowl. Similar types are known elsewhere in the Early Bronze of Palestine, but are never found in later ages. Bowl rims are always inverted (turned in). Cooking pots always exhibit a thick rounded inverted rim, becoming gradually thinner as one moves from the edge. The cooking pot rim with a carinated, collared or otherwise profiled rim which is so useful a guide to the chronology of the Middle Bronze, Late Bronze and Early Iron, does not appear at all in the Hirbet Kerak pottery. The same is true both of the Mediterranean Bronze Age forms which make their appearance toward the latter part of the Middle Bronze and of the piriform jugs or juglets of the Tell el-Yahūdiyeh category. Since the latter are characteristic of the Hyksos Age wherever they appear in Egypt, and all the Palestinian evidence points to their belonging to the same general period, their absence is very natural.

The principal forms of decoration in the Hirbet Kerak pottery are burnishing, comb-facing and a curious type of "band-slip." The burnishing is nearly all of the continuous type which is so characteristic of the best Early and Middle Bronze ware. In this technique the surface of the vase is usually covered with a red haematite slip, which is then carefully polished with the burnishing tool so that no part of the vessel remains untouched. Some of the pottery from Hirbet Kerak is beautifully burnished. A number of sherds were found of vases red inside and black outside, with a red rim, all highly burnished. Several fragments of vases in this technique show a wavy ribbing or fluting on the outside which is unmistakably an imitation of metal work in silver; a polished black surface was obviously selected for this fluting because of the desire to imitate old silver in color as well as in finish. Comb-facing is generally carried out in horizontal parallel bands and patterned hatching.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Identical with the comb-faced ware of Tell el-Qassis (*BULLETIN BSA* no. 2, p. 15 (plate VI), nos. 20-25) which is also generally in the "herring-bone" pattern. In general the pottery from Hirbet Kerak and Tell el-Qassis is similar, though the latter

The technique which I have called "band-slip" is very rare elsewhere in Palestine, so far as our material goes, but exceedingly common at Hirbet Kerak, being the dominant form of ornamentation. It consists in covering the exterior of a vessel with parallel vertical bands of slip, usually red, orange or brown, especially the last. Sometimes the bands are regular, sometimes they are so irregular as to be mere splashes, but they are always very close together. The color of the strips between the bands is usually that of the native surface of the vase, but sometimes a slip in one color is put on before the bands, which are then in a darker slip—i. e., brown bands may be put on over an orange slip. Originally this curious decoration must have been developed from the aeneolithic net designs in parallel vertical bands, where, however, the bands are much farther apart.

To sum up, the pottery of the lower stratum of Hirbet Kerak is very homogeneous, and represents a pottery culture of the second half of the third millennium, lasting into the beginning of the second millennium, but closing well before the Hyksos period. The comb-facing is of the same type as that on sherds gathered by the writer from Montet's trial excavation under the foundations of the Old Empire temple at Byblos,⁵⁶ then the most important seaport in all Syria. Montet thought that this temple was founded about the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, if not earlier, but it is much more probable that it was founded about the middle of the Fifth, since most of the inscriptions and other objects found date from the end of the Fifth and the beginning of the Sixth, and earlier ex votos may have been heirlooms or inheritances from an earlier temple on a different site. The following royal names are actually documented: Mencheres (*Mn-k³w-hr*),⁵⁷ Tancheres ('Issy)⁵⁸ and Onnos (*Wniš*), the last three kings of the Fifth Dynasty; Phiops I and II of the Sixth Dynasty, whose inscriptions are relatively the most numerous, as was to be expected. It therefore follows that the temple was founded shortly before Mencheres, i. e., perhaps during the reign of his immediate predecessor Neuserrê, the most important king of the dynasty. According to Meyer's chronology, the reign of Neuserrê would fall toward the end of the 26th century B. C. (Breasted: cir. 2700 B. C.), but the present writer would place it about 2300 B. C. (see below). If our lower date is right, the combed ware

is inferior, and such a characteristic type as the band-slip ware is hardly represented at all.

⁵⁶ See Montet, *Comptes Rendus*, 1923, pp. 84 ff.; Vincent, RB 1925, 164 ff.

⁵⁷ The name is preserved as *Mn-k³w-[]*, first supposed to be Mencheres-Mycerinus of the Fourth Dynasty; cf. Montet, *Hommage à Champollion (Fondation Piot*, Vol. XXV), p. 242. It is, however, evidently *Mn-k³w-[Hr]*, or Mencheres of the Fifth Dynasty, who was the immediate predecessor of Tancheres and Onnos.

⁵⁸ The cartouche of *Dd-k³R'-Issy*, the Tancheres of Manetho, occurs on an alabaster fragment from Byblos in a Beirut collection. It has not been published.

of Galilee and of Byblos dates from about the middle of the third millennium, though one must naturally allow a scope of three to four centuries for the appearance of this ware. One must also bear in mind the fact that comb-faced pottery enjoyed a long popularity, and that different types of it are found in different ages. So, for example, the comb-faced ware of Hirbet Kerak and Byblos is somewhat different from the comb-faced ware of the First Dynasty tombs of Abydos, held by the best authorities to come from Syria, since it is obviously imported.⁵⁹ If the writer's chronology may be introduced again, this earlier comb-faced ware will date from the 29th or 28th centuries B. C.; otherwise it belongs to the end of the fourth millennium. Naturally, if we are to accept Borchardt's chronology, now so popular in Germany, we should have to date this ware into the end of the fifth millennium(!)—but no Palestinian archaeologist can admit such a paradox for an instant.

Hirbet Kerak is the site of the town of Bêt-yerah, mentioned in the Talmud as situated at the point where the Jordan emerges from the Sea of Galilee. Dalman⁶⁰ has pointed out that the Hellenistic town of Philoteria, built by Ptolemy Philadelphus in honor of his sister, was situated here, and Sukenik⁶¹ has brought further material in support of this view, which seems absolutely certain to the writer. The evidence of pottery shows that the site remained—at least in the main—unoccupied from before the seventeenth century down to the third century B. C., a fact which explains the total absence of any reference to Bêt-yerah, "The House of the Moon," in our documentary sources during this period. Yet the name is certainly Canaanite; there was another town of the same name near Byblos.⁶² To the student of Palestinian topography nothing is more common than to see a *hirbeh* reoccupied today after being abandoned since the Roman period or earlier. The word "*Hirbet*" is soon dropped, and the old name comes into sole use again.

Thanks to its wonderful position, Bêt-yerah must have been one of the most important cities of Galilee in its day, perhaps actually the capital of all northern Palestine. It is impossible to say when it was founded, since the original aeneolithic settlement which we may probably assume is completely hidden under later accumulations. Its most flourishing age was certainly

⁵⁹ Cf. Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*, I, pp. 105 ff., who shows that the imported pottery found in the Egyptian royal tombs of the Thinite age at Abydos is North Syrian, though he does not mention the comb-faced ware directly. This ware is illustrated by Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, Vol. I, plate XXXVIII, 9.

⁶⁰ OWJ² 160.

⁶¹ JPOS II, 101 ff.

⁶² EA no. 79, 21; 83, 29. The name is once written *Bit-arga*, so the form is not quite certain.

during the second half of the third millennium, probably toward the end of this period. Since there is not much tillable ground in the immediate vicinity, we must suppose that it owed its importance primarily to its position at the southwestern corner of the Sea of Galilee, where the Jordan could easily be forded. Two famous roads came down past it: the later *via maris* or, rather, its extension southward into the Jordan Valley; and the road from the region of Damascus and the Haurān, which passed over the pass of Aphek ('aqabat *Fig*) into the Jordan Valley.⁶³ The importance of these roads was due to commerce, which we now know was highly developed in the Western Asia of the Ur Dynasty (24th century B.C.). Once having attained its importance, it was easy for Bêt-yerah to maintain its population from the agricultural products of the region immediately to the south, all of which may be irrigated. It may also be that the fishing industry was developed to a high point, as later in the Roman period.

How Bêt-yerah came to be destroyed we cannot say. It is curious that, as we shall see, the abandonment of this site was roughly contemporaneous with the end of Bâb ed-Drâ', but the two events are probably not to be connected. It may be that it fell before the onslaught of the barbarian hordes from the north, whom the Egyptians called Hyksos, especially since the latter certainly established themselves in Syria a considerable length of time before their irruption into Egypt about 1690 B.C.⁶⁴

Hirbet Kerak is the only mound of any importance in the Jordan Valley between Yanâ'am and Beth-shan. In fact, there are hardly any other mounds at all between it and Beth-shan. On the eastern side of Jordan there is a small tell, about 75 by 50 paces in extent, at the entrance to the Yarmûk Valley from the Ghôr. This mound, called Tell ed-Duweir, was occupied down to the first part of the Early Iron Age, but was apparently abandoned before the tenth century B.C. The sherds on the mound are mainly from the Late Bronze and the beginning of the Early Iron (first phase). Though the town was small, it was strongly fortified, evidently because of its position at the mouth of the Yarmûk Valley, commanding the ancient road which led into the Jordan Valley from the hot springs of the Yarmûk.

Turning to the west side of the Jordan we find a similar lack of mounds. Tell es-Semdin, a mile west of Jisr el-Mujâmi', is purely natural,⁶⁵ as are a large proportion of the smaller so-called mounds in the Jordan Valley. We

⁶³ Cf. JPOS II, 184 f.

⁶⁴ Cf. JPOS II, 121-8.

⁶⁵ Contrast ANNUAL, Vol. II-III, p. 19, where it was rashly identified with Beth-shemesh. A better identification would be with Tell el-Muqarqaš (BULLETIN, no. 11, p. 12), but this is very doubtful, and Beth-shemesh may be placed tentatively near Hirbet Semsin, perhaps at Yemma itself.

have visited several other small tells in this neighborhood without finding any artificial ones, though Mr. Guy tells me that Tell eš-Šôq, south of the bridge, shows traces of early occupation. Tell el-'Eššeh at the mouth of Wâdî el-'Eššeh is a tiny mound of excellent shape, but so insignificant that we have never considered it worth while stopping to examine it, though we have been within half a mile of it.⁶⁶

When we reach the Beisân district, however, all is changed, and mounds become thick, especially on the western side of the river. Largest of all mounds is Tell el-Huṣn, the site of ancient Beth-shan, where the University Museum of Philadelphia has conducted three summer campaigns under the direction of Dr. Fisher, during 1921, 2 and 3. Four miles south of it is Tell eš-Sârem, a fine mound of about the same extent, though much lower, having been built originally on the surface of a low knoll in the plain.⁶⁷ A mile and a half further south is Tell el-Tôm, a curious double mound, sometimes called Tell el-Hamirâ.⁶⁸ Nearly five miles beyond, on a foothill, lies the fine mound of Tell el-Hammeh, while the low mound, or rather ruin of Tell er-Ridghah lies between the latter two, to the east. Several miles beyond Tell el-Hammeh, to the south, lies Tell Abû Sifri, apparently a respectable mound, which the writer has not succeeded in finding, owing to the hostility of the local Bedawîn. About eight miles in a straight line southeast of Tell el-Huṣn lies the fine mound of Hirbet Fahil, situated on a foothill of the Jordan Valley. From Fahil southward are a long line of tells, some of them very fine, which form a group of their own, to be considered separately below. Besides this group of larger mounds there are dozens of smaller ones, some mere hillocks, in the Beisân district. While many of them are covered with Arabic pottery, others still exhibit very primitive Bronze Age or even aeneolithic ware, as observed by Mr. Guy, who has studied them carefully. The mounds, if they may be called by so sonorous a name, which line the edge of the Zôr, or the Jordan Valley proper, in this district are often the oldest, according to Mr. Guy; later settlers avoided the excessive heat of the Zôr, probably because they spent the entire year in the valley, instead of only the winter season.

The basic text for the topography of the Beth-shan district in the Bronze Age is the second stela of Sethos I from Beisân, which we will, therefore, consider first in detail. The historical section of this important document is found in lines 14-22, and runs in transliteration:—*R' pn iw.tw r dd n hm.f r nty: p̄b hr hsy nty m dmy n H̄3-mt-ty nwy.f n.f rmf.t '33.t iw.f hr nhm dmy*

⁶⁶ Contrast the exaggerated description by Thiersch and Hölscher, MDOG 23, 17.

⁶⁷ Cf. the description by Père Abel, with photograph, RB 1913, 218 and fig. 1.

⁶⁸ For the latter name cf. Thiersch and Hölscher, MDOG 23, 17 (with photograph) and Abel, RB 1913, 220. The Survey gives the name as Tell eth-Thûm, "Mound of Garlic." I have followed the pronunciation heard from the natives.

n B³-ty-š³-r³; hr hnm n³yw (n) P³-h-lr³ bw rd.nf pry p³ sr n R³-hw-bw r bw-nw-r³. wn.yn hm.f hr dy.t iw p³ m³-tpy n 'Imn wsr pd.wt r dmy n H³-mt-ty, p³ m³-tpy n p³ R³ 'š³ qn r dmy n B³-ty-š³-r³, p³ m³-tpy n Sw-th nh³ pd.wt r dmy (n) X-nw-š³-my. hpr 'h' hrw w' iw.sn hr(w) n b³w hm.f. We may translate as follows:—“This day there came one to inform his majesty as follows: “The wretched foe who is in the town of Hammat is making ready for himself much people for the purpose of seizing the town of Bêt-šal; together with those of Peħel he prevents the prince of Reħôħ from going out (of his town).” Then his majesty sent the Division of Amôn, strong of bows, to the town of Hammat, the division of Rē‘, abounding in valor, to the town of Bêt-šal, the division of Sûteħ, mighty of bows, to the town of Yanō‘am. In the space of a day they were overthrown by the glory of his majesty.

The Beisân Stela is dated in the first year of Sethos I, the eleventh month and tenth day, which probably represents the approximate time of the conclusion of his first campaign in Palestine. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the progress of the campaign is very limited, being derived almost entirely from the vague allusions of the Karnak inscriptions. It has been hitherto supposed that Sethos had to reconquer all Palestine, from the frontiers of Egypt to the Lebanon. The new text shows clearly that this was not the case, and proves that the absence of detail in the Karnak inscriptions is due mainly to the fact that there were no important operations at all in the first campaign. The famous passage in LD III, 128a, referring to the royal intervention in an invasion of Palestine by the Bedawîn now turns out to be a description of the Beth-shan episode from a different point of view. The passage runs:—*'h'.n iw.tw r dd n hm.f: n³ n hrw n S³-s³ šnn.sn bdš n³y.sn '3w n mhw dmd m b(w) w' 'h' hr n³ S³tyw n H³-rw šsp.sn sh³ hnn w' im hr sm³ sn.nw.f b(w) hmt.sn hpw n 'h'*—Then one came to inform his majesty: “These foes of the Bedawîn are plotting rebellion; their tribal chiefs have formed a coalition and are attacking the Asiatics of *H³rw* (Palestine); they engage in strife and conflict, each one slaying his companion; they disregard the laws of the palace.” It is obvious that this passage is simply a later and more rhetorical version of the account in the Beisân Stela, which contents itself with a plain description of what actually caused the intervention of the Pharaoh. In both cases we have the same introduction, “One came to inform his majesty,” and the same situation, civil war between towns in Transjordan and Cisjordan, with Bedawîn assisting one party against the other, as we shall see. When scholars were unable to check the exaggerations of the Karnak inscription, there was some justification for regarding the passage as alluding to the movement which brought the Israelites into Palestine; the Beisân text enables us to check the other documents, and proves that there is no basis for this theory.

The campaign of Sethos I in Palestine was, therefore, only a demonstration of Egyptian power, with the purpose of strengthening Egyptian prestige and restoring order, before proceeding to attack the entrenched Hittite power in Syria. As we know from the Amarna Letters, the Egyptians were generally content with a very loose exercise of power in Palestine, and seldom interfered in the private quarrels of the local princes unless the tribute fell off seriously, in which case a punitive expedition was in order. The Pharaoh probably took the same four divisions with him which later formed the nucleus of Rameses II's army at the Battle of Kadesh. The Division of Ptah alone is not mentioned in the Beisân Stela, presumably because it had been left behind at Megiddo or elsewhere, in order to ensure the safety of the Egyptian communications against attacks inspired by Hittite intrigues. The Division of Sûteh was sent north to Yanô'am, and evidently did not participate in the fighting at Beth-shan, where only the Divisions of Amôn and Rê^e were engaged. This force of ten thousand men, exclusive of camp-followers and the royal household, was naturally quite ample to cope with the two or three thousand men whom the "rebels" may have opposed to the Pharaoh, so it is likely enough that the open campaign lasted only one day, though the reduction of the hostile towns presumably required a longer time.

Before we can intelligently discuss the exact nature of the conflict between the towns of Pehel and Hammat on the one side, and Beth-shal and Rehôb on the other, we must determine the location of these places. Fortunately, all of the names have survived, so the locations may be easily fixed. Bêt-šal is naturally Hebrew Bêt-šan, modern Beisân, with the interchange of *n* and *l* which we find in *niškah* and *liškah*, *Gubna* (*Kupna*) - *Gubla*,⁶⁹ *Nuhašši-Lu'as*, and other cases.⁷⁰ In additional support of this identification is the fact that

⁶⁹ The Egyptian writing *Kbn*, later *Kpn* (cf. Sethe, AZ XLV, 7; LIX, 156) reflects a pronunciation *K(G)ub(p)na*. Etymologically Eg. *n* often equals Semitic *l*, but there is no proof that this is the case in loan-words or transliterations. The name does not belong with the common Semitic stem *gbl*, but is non-Semitic, like *Arwad* and the other place-names of the coast north of Phoenicia Proper. The variation between *k* and *g*, *b* and *p* is not the fault of the Egyptians of the Old Empire, who carefully distinguished between all these sounds, but is due to a strong Anatolian influence in Byblos. It shows clearly that the basic stock of the Byblian population in the third millennium was Asianic, and could not distinguish between voiced and voiceless stops, a marked characteristic of the languages of Asia Minor. The Semitic preponderance evidently began at that time south of Byblos, not north of it, as later. Cf. also AJSL XLI, 74, note.

⁷⁰ Cf. also perhaps the name *N-d-3* in the list of conquered Syrian towns from the tomb of Anti (Fifth Dynasty), mentioned with 'Ain-[]k[] (AJSL XLI, 77, n. 3). I would provisionally suggest a reading *Luddô = Luddôn* (*Rtn*) of the Tuthmosis List and Hebr. *Lod* (for *Ludd*), Arabic *Ludd*, *Lydd*. Contrast Alt, ZDPV XLVII (1924), 169 ff., who combines *Rtn* with *Rtnw*. His suggestion would be very plausible

the Hebrew spellings בֵּית־שָׁאֵל and בֵּית־שָׁן are exactly paralleled by the two Egyptian spellings *Bt-šil* and *Bt-šl*. That the *r* represents a Semitic *l* is proved by the variant orthography *nr* = *l*. The name was formerly read *Bēt-ša-el*, i. e., "House of God," and identified with a Bethel, or sometimes actually referred to the Bethel in southern Ephraim. There was a serious difficulty, that the relative particle *ša* was not known to be used in Hebrew or Canaanite to express the genitive relation; the name of Methusael, i. e., **Mutu-ša-el*, "Man of God," is probably of Accadian origin, and would not illustrate our supposed case. Now the problem is solved in the simplest way, in accordance with the views held by the writer and others long before the discovery of the second stela of Sethos at Beisân.

Beth-shan is mentioned frequently in the Egyptian records of the New Empire, e. g., in the Tuthmosis List, no. 110, between a Beeroth and Beth-anath; in Pap. Anastasi I, 22, 8, between *Rhb* = Rehôb and *Tryir* (= *Qrtir*, **Qart-el*?); in the Shishak List, no. 16, after Taanach and Shunem, and before Rehob and Hapharaim.⁷¹ The additional occurrences in the Sethos lists have been described above in connexion with the localization of Yanô'am. In the Amarna Tablets the name occurs once in the correspondence of ARAD—Heba, prince of Jerusalem (EA 289, 20) as *Bit-sa-a-ni*, i. e., *Bēt-šān*, since the Amorite pronunciation of Hebrew *š* as *s* prevailed at Jerusalem.⁷² The reference is historically interesting, since it suggests that there was an Egyptian garrison at Beth-shan even in the Eighteenth Dynasty. The text reads: *awilüt Ginti(-kirmil) maṣartu ina Bit-sāni ibaṣši*, "the men of Gath (-carmel) are in Beth-shan as a garrison." In the light of our present knowledge concerning the Egyptian fortress at Beth-shan which has been almost entirely excavated by Fisher, it is only reasonable to suppose that the "garrison" was under Egyptian command. The first stela of Sethos found at Beisân refers to the Epherites of southern Palestine in such a way as to

if it were not for the rigidity of the Twelfth Dynasty orthography, where *t* is always *t* (= Hebrew *samek*, the exact pronunciation of which in early times is unknown).

⁷¹ Hapharaim (*Hafarâyim*) is probably modern et-Taiyibeh, east of Nebi Daft. Since et-Taiyibeh is an abbreviation of Taiyibet el-Ism (Euonymos) a name given euphemistically to places whose names had a bad sound, and at least two towns of the name can be proved to have originally borne the name 'Afreh = Ophrah, it is only natural to look for the same development here. With the very common change of *h* to *'ayin* (ANNUAL, Vol. IV, 156 f., and *Beit-'âr* = *Bēt-h̄brōn*, *Jebel 'Aṣâr* = *Ba'al-h̄as̄r*, etc.). *Hafarâyim* would become **Afarâyim* or **Afarén* > 'Afreh. The neighboring town of *Anaherat* has similarly become *en-Na'ûrah* (cf. *Dabrat* > *Debâre*), under the influence of the Aramaic diminutive *fa'**âldâ*.

⁷² Cf. the spellings *Urusalim* and *Lakisi* in the letters from Jerusalem, and note 8 above.

indicate that they formed part of the Egyptian garrison at Beth-shan,⁷³ so there is no difficulty in explaining the presence of the men of Gath-carmel there in the same way.

The value of Beth-shan to the Egyptians consisted in its remarkably fine strategic location, which made it ideal for a fortress, since it commanded the important route running eastward into Transjordan from the Plain of Esdraelon. Both because of its strategic location and the abundance of water Beth-shan must have been settled very early. An idea of the relative antiquity of the mound may be drawn from the fact that the pavement of the Egyptian fortress, founded probably by Sethos I about 1314 B. C., was only five metres below the surface of the ground before excavation, while Fisher found that a well-shaft sunk in later times to a depth of at least thirteen metres below this pavement was in débris the entire way down. In a site of this character, where adobe brick was used almost exclusively for building purposes, the rate of deposit was very rapid. In Tell el-Hesi the rate of accumulation was about a foot in forty-five years,⁷⁴ while at Gezer it was approximately a foot in seventy years;⁷⁵ the difference is naturally to be explained by the fact that adobe was the principal building material at the former place, while stone was generally used at Gezer. It is true that estimates of this kind must be used with caution, since the rate of deposit was by no means uniform, while some sites were not occupied continuously. On the other hand, the great leveling and terracing operations found in Mesopotamian and Egyptian royal cities are probably never to be expected in Palestinian sites, which grew with the normal deposit of débris, at least until

⁷³ The 'py-rw of Mount Y[]d[] and the Ty-rw-[] are mentioned together in this stela, but in such a way that it is impossible to tell certainly whether they were allies or enemies of Egypt. To the writer the former alternative appears much more natural because of the context, which does not speak of war, at least clearly. The 'py-rw are naturally the 'pw-tr³ of the Egyptian texts of the New Empire, where they appear both as slaves and as mercenaries, especially the latter. The writer would identify them with the Midianite tribe of 'Efer, which also settled in southern Judah (I Chr. 4: 17 ff.), especially since the 'pr personal names so far known are all Semitic. It may be that the 'py-rw of Mount Y[]d[], mentioned in the Sethos text, came from the hills of Yuṭṭah (Eg. d = t), while the 'pr 'nw-ty of the reign of Rameses IV (LD III, 219c) may have come from the neighboring (Bēt-) 'Anōt. The whole question will be discussed elsewhere. The Ty-rw [] were first identified with the Mediterranean Turša or Tyrsenians (*Tw-rw-s²*, *Tw-ry-s²*, *Ty-u-tr³-s²*), but perhaps should be better combined with the Nubian *Ty-r³-y-w²* or *Ty-r³-w²-l²* (from an unpublished papyrus communicated by Golenischeff). They would then fall into the category of Kaši mercenaries, while the 'Efer would be Suttū (Bedawin), both frequently mentioned in the Amarna Tablets.

⁷⁴ Cf. JPOS II, 131.

⁷⁵ Cf. Macalister, *Gezer*, I, 159, and JPOS II, 133.

Greek times. Furthermore, the mounds of the Bronze Age were nearly all located so favorably that they can hardly have been abandoned long during this period when the choice of sites was so rigidly governed by water-supply and accessibility of cultivable land. We have, therefore, no hesitation in pushing back the beginning of civilization at Beth-shan to before 3000 B. C., at least 1800 years before 1300 B. C. How much before remains to be seen when further excavations have been made in this important site.

The antiquity of the site is illustrated by the name *Bêt-še'al* or *Bêt-še'an*, which has never been explained satisfactorily. All the other Canaanite town-names in *Bêt-* which are known have a divine name as the second element: e. g., *Bêt-el*, *Bêt-še'meš*, *Bêt-yerah*, *Bêt-'unat*, *Bêt-dagan*,⁷⁶ *Bêt-laḥm*.⁷⁷ It may be that Canaanite town-names of this category could be formed with personal names and common nouns, as in later Hebrew, but we have no proof, and it is, therefore, better to follow the analogies just cited. Among the suggestions made—aside from various antiquated and impossible etymologies—are *Se'ôl*, "Hades"; *Sala*, the name of Adad's consort in Mesopotamia; *Šan*, probably a mistake for *Sahan*, the name of the Sumerian serpent-god.⁷⁸ The only one of these which seems phonetically admissible is the first, but until there is the slightest proof that *Se'ôl* was the name of a god instead of being simply the Canaanite designation for the underworld it is better to be content with a *non liquet*.⁷⁹ At all events, the name is very archaic, and presumably carries us back well into the fourth millennium.

⁷⁶ The usual spelling *Bêt-dagôn* is not correct for early Palestine. We know of three old towns of this name: *Bêt-dagan* near Joppa (Assyr. *Bît-daganna*, pronounced *Bêt-dagân*), now Beit-dájan; *Bêt-dagan* in Asher, the modern equivalent of which is unknown; *Bêt-dájan* near Salim = Salem, east of Nâblus. The *Bêt-dagôn* of Judah is a scribal error for *Bêt-galîm*, as pointed out by Margolis (cf. BULLETIN no. 18, p. 10, where the latter is identified with modern Jîliâ). The *Byt-dqñ* of Rameses III (ER I, 68, 72) cannot be definitely identified, though one thinks of the first one, in the Plain of Sharon. The Masoretic spelling בֵּת־דָגָן is based upon the late Phoenician pronunciation Δαγων; for the etymology and explanation of the name cf. JAOS XL, 319, n. 27, where it has been pointed out that Heb. *dagán*, "grain," is derived from the name of the god. Our present observation that the Canaanite name of the god was Dagan, with the same pronunciation as the word for "grain," shows that this view was quite right. For Phoenician *Dagôn* from *Dagán* cf. *Adôd* from *Adâd* (JAOS XL, 314, n. 14, where we should now read: "*Nîmarâd may thus have become *Nîmrôd*, just as *Dagán* became Δαγων and *Haddâd* 'Αδωδες").

⁷⁷ Written *Bit-NINURTA* in the Amarna Tablets; cf. Schroeder, OLZ XVIII, 294 f.

⁷⁸ Jirku, *Altorientalischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament*, p. 135 above. For some strange older ideas cf. Tomkins, *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. IX, p. 278.

⁷⁹ ANNUAL II-III, p. 20, n. 7, the writer already maintained that Eg. *Byt-še'r* = *Bêt-še'an*, and suggested the explanation "House of the God *še'al* (= *Se'ôl*)."⁸⁰ In a paper prepared later for the *Haupt Anniversary Volume*, with the title *Mesopotamian Elements in Canaanite Eschatology*, he surrendered this explanation of the name, and

Confederate with Beth-shan in the conflict with Hammat and Peħel was the town of Reħob. The name *Reħob* (lit. "wide place") is common in Palestine, and occurs several times in the Bible: (1) Rehob in Asher; (2) Rehob or Beth-rehab near Dan; (3) Beth-rehab north of Ammon, now Rihāb; (4) Rehoboth in the Negeb, now Ruħeibeh.⁸⁰ Formerly the *Rħb* of the Egyptian texts was identified with one of these biblical sites, though Abel proposed its identification with Tell es-Sārem south of Beisān.⁸¹ This happy suggestion of Abel is certainly correct, as we shall see. Eusebius identified the two biblical Rehobs ('Ρωβ) with the Byzantine village of the same name situated four miles from Scythopolis (Beth-shan). This village still existed in the Middle Ages under the name Rihāb, now Seiħ Rihāb, corrupted by the Crusaders to Reħap (Abel). The present writer has examined the site of Seiħ Rihāb, finding it a low *hirbeh*, covered with mediaeval Arabic pottery. The *weli* of the name is rapidly losing ground and the name will soon, no doubt, pass into oblivion. There are many cases in Palestine where modern *aulyā* bear the names of the eponymous heroes of ancient Canaanite towns. Thus the old Canaanite royal city of 'Eglōn, probably Tell el-Hesī, is still commemorated by Seiħ 'Ajlān, a *weli* who rules over the ruins of an old Arab village inheriting the name of the neighboring mound.⁸² Gezer, eponymous founder of the town which bears his name, survives as eš-Seiħ ej-Jezārī, popularly explained as el-Jazā' irlī, "the Algerian." The writer has met with scores of equally apt illustrations, so there need be no difficulty in locating an ancient Canaanite Reħob at Seiħ Rihāb or in the immediate neighborhood. Père Abel pointed out that the fine mound of Tell es-Sārem, less than a mile north of Seiħ Rihāb, is to be identified with the Reħob of Papyrus Anastasi I, mentioned with Beth-shan and the Jordan.⁸³ This happy suggestion is confirmed by the new Sethos Stela, according to which Beth-shan and Reħob were confederate towns.

suggested that Še'ēl is derived from the Babylonian *Šu'āra*, the name of Tammuz's home in the underworld, by a popular etymology from *ša'ālu*, "to decide fate," *šā'ilu*, "oracle priest." Še'ēl would then be primarily the abode of the shades who are properly buried, whence it could be extended to cover the whole underworld. The second element of the name Bēt-šan is accordingly quite obscure.

⁸⁰ We should perhaps read the end of Gen. 36: 36 as שָׂאֵל מִרְחָבוֹת הַנֶּגֶב, "Saul from Rehoboth in the Negeb," instead of שָׂאֵל מִירָחָבוֹת הַנָּהָר, "Saul from Rehoboth on the River (Euphrates)," with the present text. In Hebrew or Aramaic cursive the difference between the two writings was very slight. The expression is paralleled exactly by רְמָתָה נֶגֶב (I Sam. 30: 27), and גַּעַי הַנֶּגֶב אֲשֶׁר הַנֶּגֶב. Cf. the similar, though not quite so easy correction of the unintelligible פְּתֻוחָה אֲשֶׁר עַל הַנֶּהָר אֲרַצְנִי עַמּוֹן (Num. 22: 5) to פְּתֻחָה אֲשֶׁר עַל הַנֶּהָר בָּאַרְצִנִּי (JAOS XXXV, 386 ff.).

⁸¹ RB X, 218 ff.

⁸² Cf. BULLETIN no. 17, pp. 7 f.

⁸³ Pap. Anastasi I, 22, 7-8.

There can thus be no doubt that the Reḥôb of the Sethos texts is our town. On the other hand, the Reḥôb of the Tuthmosis List, no. 87, between 'yn (= 'Iyôn) and 'I³-q³-r³, followed by *Hy-k-ry-m*, Abel and Edre'i, is probably Rehob or Beth-rehab near Dan (but hardly Bânyâs; see above). The Reḥôb of Pap. Anastasi IV, 17, 3, is mentioned with Pehel as furnishing good parts of chariots, and is thus certainly our town. The same is true of the Reḥôb in the Shishak List: see above. The town of Rahabi is mentioned in the second Taanach letter, and has been identified with a Reḥôb, but the name should then be vocalized *Rahâbu*, or the like, since â had already become obscured to ô in Late Canaanite. *Per se* the identification is most reasonable, and it may be that the correct pronunciation of the name was not *Rehôb*, but *Rahâb*, like *rahâb*, "wide," and the name of the courtesan Rahab of Jericho. In this case, we have a parallel to the equivalence of *Bêt-dagán* to *Bêt-dagôn*, discussed above. However, until there is definite proof of the form *Rahâb*, it is better to adhere to the Masoretic vocalization, especially in view of the Greek and Arabic forms.

The writer has visited Tell es-Sârem twice, gathering numerous potsherds on both occasions. The vast majority of the sherds from summit and sides of the mound belong to the period from the 13th to the 10th century, in other words, to the whole of the transitional age between Bronze and Iron which we have called the first phase of Early Iron. All the typical forms of this age are found. Decoration is nearly always in bands of color around the vase; burnishing is semi-continuous hand-work, but wheel burnishing has begun to come in, though still of the continuous type characteristic of the tenth century B. C. in Southern Palestine. Some Late Bronze was found on the lower slopes, and a stray piece or two of the Early or Middle Bronze. Reḥôb was thus occupied from the third millennium down to the beginning of the first.

The prime mover in the conflict against Beth-shan and Reḥôb was Hammat, allied with Pehel. There are so many places called Hammat, i. e., "Hot Spring," in the Jordan Valley that the identification of this one must be left until we have considered the sister town of Pehel. Being near Beth-shan the latter is evidently identical with the Talmudic Pehel, modern Hirbet Fâhil or Féhel. The identity of name is so striking that the Egyptian *Phr* near Beth-shan has long been identified with Fahil, but there has always been an element of doubt until the discovery of the Beisân Stela of Sethos I. Since the Hellenistic-Roman city of Pella is built on and around a large ancient mound, on the scarp side of which, overlooking the stream, we have found Late Bronze and Early Iron sherds, there can be no possible doubt that the identification is correct. In the Tuthmosis List, no. 33, Pehel is mentioned between Lawîs-Laish and Hasôr-Hazor on the one hand, and Chinnereth on the other, in defiance of strict geographical sequence, as so

often in this list. Pap. Anastasi IV, 16, 11, mentions Pehel with Reḥôb as being centers of chariot manufacture (see above).

The name of Pehel also occurs, though hitherto unrecognized, in the Amarna Tablets, under the orthography *Bi-hi-li^m*, formerly read *Bihisi*.⁸⁴ Strictly, we should read *Pihili*, since the syllable *pi* had to be written *BI*, because *PI* always had the reading *wa*, *we*, *wi*, etc., while an overhanging *m* is generally disregarded in Amarna orthography. Moreover, since *i* and *e* were not distinguished in this orthography, we could just as well read *Pehel*, that is, precisely the same form of the name which later sources give us. There are two references to the town, one in EA 256, *passim*, the other in one of the new texts published by Thureau-Dangin, no. 3.⁸⁵ It is true that the name is not actually mentioned in the second text, but the writer of this letter is the Ayab who is spoken of in EA 256 as the prince (*šarru*) of Pihil. Ayab acknowledges receipt of the royal instructions conveyed by Atahmaya (*Pth-mry*), but complains that the prince of Hazor has seized three of his villages. This indicates that the territories of Hazor and Pehel were contiguous, and reminds us that the two towns are mentioned together in the Tuthmosis List, as we have seen. However, this would not necessarily imply that Pehel is to be located in Upper Galilee, as Hazor has generally been, since, in the first place, Hazor must be placed farther south, near Hirbet Hazzûr and Mughâr (see above), while, in the second place, the territory of Hazor must have been relatively extensive. The Book of Joshua (11:10) states that Hazor had, previous to its destruction by the Israelites, been the chief of all the petty kingdoms of Galilee, of which there is additional testimony in the traditions preserved in Judges 4. EA 148, Abimilki of Tyre alludes to Hazor and Sidon in such a way as to suggest their nearly equal importance. The capital of the adjacent principality of Pehel may, therefore, have been situated at a considerable distance from the capital of Hazor. Further light is shed by EA 256, written by Mut-ba'lu, who seems to have been the son of Labaya, and like his father exercised considerable influence in north-central Palestine. Mut-ba'lu devotes most of this short letter to repeated affirmation that Ayab, prince of Pihil, is no longer in Pihil, but has fled secretly from the Egyptian resident (*râbiš* = *sôkén*). However, so he assures Yanhamu, to whom the letter was addressed, before the latter's arrival he will return to Pihil, to hear the charges against him. In the midst of discussing the question of Ayab, Mut-ba'lu suddenly mentions a certain Šulum-Marduk, with a Babylonian name, and proceeds to say that Aštarîti ('Aštarôt of the Bible), modern Tell Aštarah in western Haurân, has been rescued, but that seven (other) towns of the land of Gari have become hostile, while the towns of Hawini and

⁸⁴ Cf. Weber, EA 1318 and Dhorme, RB 1924, 9.

⁸⁵ RA XIX (1921), 91 ff.

Yabiši have been captured—by whom is not clear. The latter two towns are apparently not in Gari, and may be identified with Jabesh-gilead, not yet identified, but situated on the Wâdi Yâbis six miles southeast of Pella,⁶⁶ and with Kefr 'Awân, situated two or three miles north of the neighborhood indicated for Jabesh. The towns of Gari may be identified in part with considerable probability. Udumu may be modern Dûmah, about fifteen miles northeast of el-Qanâwât; Aduri is probably Edre'i-Der'â; Araru may be Tell 'Ar'ar north of Der'â; Meštu and Zarki must remain unidentified for the present; Magdali^m (for orthography cf. *Bihili^m*) may possibly be el-Mejdel or el-Mujeidil near Suweidâ; Hinianabi is obviously an 'Ain-'anab, but cannot be located.⁶⁷ At all events, Gari is a geographical term corresponding to Hebrew Bašan, modern Haurân, but not including Gilead. Whether Argob, where 'Aštarôt was situated, formed a part of Gari or not cannot be said definitely, though it is not unlikely. In connexion with the unexpected Babylonian name Šulum-Marduk, it may be pointed out that there still exists a town called Marduk in the Haurân, north of Suweidâ and el-Qanâwât, so it is not impossible that there was a direct Babylonian influence on Haurân in the Late Bronze Age. Pihil itself evidently lay beyond Jordan, near the other towns mentioned, but also in such a position that it could share a common border with Hazor, in eastern Galilee. The site of Pella is very well adapted to the situation required for Pihil in the Amarna Tablets, so we need no longer hesitate to identify Pehel, Pihil, Talmudic Peħel, Greek Pella and modern Hirbet Fahil, especially since the archaeological indications coincide, as noticed above.

It is interesting to note that, whereas Pella had a prince in the time of the Amarna Letters, no chief is mentioned on the Sethos Stela, two generations later. Instead, we find "those of Peħel" referred to, just as we find the men of Penuel and Succoth mentioned in the Gideon Story. Since "those of Peħel" seem to correspond in the Beth-Shan Stela to the Bedawîn (*S²-s³*) of the Karnak texts (cf. the quotations above), it may be that Peħel had

⁶⁶ The Onomasticon places Jabesh-gilead six miles from Pella on the road to Gerasa. Since the old Roman road from Fahil to Jeraš crosses the Wâdi Yâbis at just this distance from the former, it is evident that Jabesh, the name of which is preserved in that of the *wâdi*, must be situated in the immediate neighborhood of the crossing, either at el-Maqlûb or at the ruins on the southern side of the *wâdi*. The writer passed this way in 1923, but was unable for lack of time to make a thorough study of the possibilities.

⁶⁷ For previous discussions cf. EA 1319 f. Gari has hitherto been located by most scholars in the south of Judah, because of various similar names found there. Clauss has preceded me in identifying Yabiši, Hawini and Aduri, though he was not the first to identify Jabesh.

passed into the hands of the S̄šw-Habiru (SA-GAZ)⁸⁸ during the intervening half century.

Having located Pehel, it is only natural to look for its confederate, Hammat, in the neighborhood. The first temptation is to identify it with Tell el-Hammeh, situated in a strong position over-looking the hot springs of el-Hammeh, a little over a mile northeast of Hirbet Fahil. The writer thought of this combination immediately, but a visit to the site demonstrated conclusively that it was not occupied before Byzantine times, though the archaeological remains showed that the suggested identification with the Talmudic Hammat Pehel⁸⁹ is quite correct. The Hammath of Naphtali, at the hot springs of Tiberias (see above), has no remains of sufficient antiquity or importance, quite aside from its remoteness, comparatively speaking. Several scholars were at first inclined to identify the Hammat of the Sethos Stela with el-Hammeh on the Yarmûk, a site famous for its hot springs. Here was located the Roman town of Hammat Gader, the Hot Springs of Gadara (Umm Qeis), as shown both by the Talmudic evidence and by the important Roman remains on the site.⁹⁰ On the other hand, the site was not at all favorable for an important Bronze Age town, both because there was no arable land in the vicinity and because el-Hammeh is not on a trade route. A careful examination of the place has demonstrated that there was no Bronze Age settlement of consequence here; the two small hillocks which look like mounds are almost entirely natural, with no depth of débris worth mentioning, while all the pottery examined, with the exception of one or two sherds, is Roman or later. There are only two other sites which can enter into consideration, since the Tell el-Hammeh between Tell Deir'allâ and the fords of the Jabbok is too insignificant to merit attention, besides being entirely overshadowed by the neighboring Tell Deir'allâ, probably the ancient Succoth (see below). These two sites are Tell el-Hammeh south of Tell es-Sârem (see above) and Tell 'Ammatâ, north of Tell Deir'allâ, the Amathus of later times. The former is six miles from Tell es-Sârem and eight miles in a

⁸⁸ Even if the Habiru are not the Hebrews of the Bible, as maintained by the writer in agreement with the majority of scholars (cf. *JBL* XLIII, 389 ff.), there can be no doubt that they are identical with the Egyptian *S̄šw*, since both appear at the same period and in a similar rôle, while both names have exactly the same meaning, namely, "robber." As often noted, *Habiru* is written with the ideogram *SA-GAZ = habbatu*, "robber," while the Egyptian word *S̄šw*, "nomad Arab," corresponds to Heb. *śôsēh*, "robber," certainly connected etymologically with it, and probably identical. One need hardly emphasize the fact that "Bedawi" and "robber" are virtually synonymous in Palestine.

⁸⁹ For Hammata de-Pehel cf. Klein, *מַחְרֵב אֶרְצִיָּה אֲלֵיכָם*, II, p. 42, no. 4.

⁹⁰ Cf. Klein, *loc. cit.*, no. 3, and especially his *Beiträge zur Geographie und Geschichte Galiliës*, pp. 79 ff.

straight line from Ḥirbet Fahil, while the latter is sixteen miles from Fahil. In view of the relative nearness to one another of the three towns already identified, it is much more satisfactory to locate Hammat at Tell el-Hammeh than at the more distant Tell ‘Ammatā. Moreover, an archaeological examination of Tell el-Hammeh has proved that it was occupied during the period in question. The mound is well placed, and fully as high as Tell el-Huṣn, without being much smaller. The sherds examined belong to the Late Bronze and beginning of the Early Iron, just as at Tell es-Sārem, but continue to a slightly later period, and indicate occupation during the early part, at least, of the second phase of the Early Iron. There is, however, no reason to identify the site with the Abel-meholah of the Bible, as suggested by Hölscher.⁹¹ Since Hammat appears in the lists of Sethos I (see above, in connexion with the discussion of Yanō‘am) twice with Peḥel and Bēt-šal, the identification with Tell el-Hammeh may be regarded as certain. Its comparative nearness to Tell es-Sārem suggests that our little war began as a quarrel between Hammat and Rehōb, each of which appealed to a neighboring town for assistance.

Between Tell es-Sārem and Tell el-Hammeh lies the interesting double mound of Tell et-Tōm or Tell el-Hamrā (see above). We found the same Late Bronze and Early Iron ware here, with a striking preponderance of band-painted ware. From the pottery it would seem that Tell et-Tōm was occupied to about the same date as Tell es-Sārem, but not so long as Tell el-Hammeh. It must, of course, be emphasized that this impression is relatively, rather than absolutely correct. All the other mounds in this district are smaller. Only one of these smaller sites has been carefully studied by the writer: Tell er-Ridghah northeast of Tell el-Hammeh. The pottery strewn over the surface of this low mound—if mound it can be called—is almost entirely Arabic,⁹² though a few stray sherds of the Bronze Age suggested that a village had been located here in the early period. The absence of Roman or Byzantine pottery showed that Tell er-Ridghah cannot be identified with the Salumias of Eusebius, which the latter places eight miles from Scythopolis and combines with the Salim of John 3:23.⁹³ No one need, therefore, try

⁹¹ ZDPV XXXIII, 17 f. Cf. against Hölscher JPOS V, 34, n. 38.

⁹² Cf. also Hölscher, *op. cit.*, p. 24 below, and Abel, RB 1913, 221. The site is called after the *Yōm er-Radghah*, or “Day of Mud,” the name of a battle fought between Fahil and Beisan at the time of the Arab conquest.

⁹³ The Onomasticon places Salumias eight miles from Beisan; Tell er-Ridghah is only six—in a level country, where roads are nearly straight. We may, therefore, urge the identification of Salumias with the Byzantine site of Umm el-Amdān, “Mother of Pillars,” a little over a mile further south, at just the right distance from Beisan. Cf. also Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 221 ff., and Hölscher, *loc. cit.* On the site of the New Testament Salim cf. *Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. XVII, 193 f.

to combine a supposed Salim at Tell er-Ridghah with the home of Melchizedek. It may be that Tell Abū Sifrī, in a good situation at 'Ain el-Helweh, is Abel-meholah, though the writer has not had an opportunity to study the site.⁹⁴

From 'Ain el-Helweh to the Wādi Fār'ah, the hills come so close to the Jordan as to restrict the Valley to very narrow compass and make human settlement next to impossible. On the other side the plain widens out in this section, while the numerous perennial streams which flow into the Jordan north of the Jabbok make it possible to irrigate extensive areas of the plain. As stated above, the present writer has not been able to study the Jordan Valley directly north of the Jabbok. The best accounts of the ruins there have been given by Thiersch and Hölscher,⁹⁵ and especially by Abel.⁹⁶ Unfortunately, little has been done in the way of examination of the ceramic remains. Thiersch and Hölscher studied the pottery of Tell 'Ammatā and Tell Deir'allā, finding in both "Scherben älteren Importes, z. B. kyprischen Import vor-griechischer Zeit."⁹⁷ The exact number of Bronze Age mounds in this district is naturally still uncertain, but must have been considerable. Jos. 13:27 locates four Gadite towns of ancient date in the Jordan Valley, viz.: Beth-haram and Beth-nimrah, south of the Jabbok, Succoth and Zaphon, north of it.⁹⁸ In two passages the town of Zarethan is also located in this region,

⁹⁴ This site was first proposed by Conder. A short description is given by Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 224. Since there was a Roman town at Tell Abū Sifrī, but none at Tell el-Hammeh, the Roman village of Bethmaela mentioned by Eusebius could be situated at the former, but not at the latter. On the other hand, while the eight miles from Beisan to Tell el-Hammeh are too much less than Eusebius's ten miles, the twelve miles between Beisan and Tell Abū Sifrī are too far. Yet this seems the only possible identification, so it may be that Eusebius was estimating the distance according to his experience of the usual distance he could traverse in a given length of time, forgetting that one could cover more ground in it when travelling in level country than when going through the hills.

⁹⁵ MDOG 23, 33; Hölscher, ZDPV XXXIII, 19 ff.

⁹⁶ *Exploration de la vallée du Jourdain*, RB 1910, 554-6; 1911, 408 ff.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* It should be observed that Thiersch would be able to recognize the "Cypriote" (better Cypro-Phoenician) type of Early Iron ware when he saw it, because of his excellent training as a classical archaeologist. When he had to judge pottery from ordinary coarse Bronze Age sherds or from similar coarse Arab sherds, it is very improbable that he had a clear idea, being quite without experience in this delicate branch of archaeology. At all events, he made a drastic error in the case of Hirbet Harrah (pp. 21 f.), which he dated to the earliest period because of the sherds, "welche den älteren Arten palästinensischer Keramik angehören." The writer has examined the site very thoroughly, finding exclusively Arabic sherds and other remains at the summit—and sherds of recent date. Below the summit was a Hellenistic-Roman town, as noticed also by Thiersch.

⁹⁸ Cf. the discussion by Klein, מתקרים ארצישראלים III, pp. 12 f.

opposite Abel-meholah and north of Succoth.⁹⁹ Finally, we know that there was a Hammat located at Tell 'Ammatā from an early period.¹⁰⁰ In the Greek period this place was called Amathus, which was captured by Alexander Jannaeus and made the center of a toparchy by Gabinius. The Talmudic form of the name is חמתה, אמתה, ממתה, etc., where the influence of a Hellenized Aramaic pronunciation is evident.¹⁰¹ That the town is older is clear from the archaeological data just mentioned. Forrer has shown that one of the two Assyrian prefectures in Syria called Hamat is to be located in Transjordan.¹⁰² He thought that it should be identified with Hammat Gader, but we have seen above that this view is erroneous, since there was no pre-hellenistic town there. We should rather identify it with our Amathus, thus equating the Assyrian prefecture of Hamat with the Solomonic district of Mahanaim and with the toparchy of Amathus established by Gabinius, though the latter was, of course, smaller.

The identification of the other three towns is more difficult. The Talmud equates Succoth with Dar'alah (or Tar'alah), now Tell Deir'allā, while Zaphon is identified with Amathus. The latter is obviously wrong, especially since Josephus mentions a town called Asophon in this region under Alexander Jannaeus.¹⁰³ Evidently Zaphon-Asophon was no longer in existence in the Talmudic age, and the Jewish antiquaries of the time merely guessed at the later equivalent. The name is certainly old, since Ba'al-safōn was one of the most popular Canaanite deities,¹⁰⁴ so we may safely look for it in a Bronze

⁹⁹ Cf. JPOS V, 33, note 37.

¹⁰⁰ For a description of Tell 'Ammatā cf. Abel, RB 1911, 412 f., and for a photograph of the mound see plate II, 1. The site is small and consists mainly of a citadel 60 meters by 40 in extent.

¹⁰¹ See Klein, מחרקין, II, pp. 42 f. (no. 5).

¹⁰² Forrer, *Die Provinzteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, p. 64. Forrer also admits Amathus as a possible suggestion. It may be added that the name of the modern site is 'Ammatā, not 'immāta; the accent is on the first syllable.

¹⁰³ Cf. the full, but inconclusive discussion by Hölscher, ZDPV XXXIII, 19 f.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. the name *Ba'li-sapuna* = *Ba'al-safōn* of a mountain in Phoenicia; the name of the East Delta town *Ba'al-safōn* or simply *Sefōn*; the goddess *Ba'alat-safōn* (AKFW no. 337). Of special interest to us is the name borne by a Syrian god represented on the "Job Stone" of Seīb sa'd, a stela in honor of Rameses II, erected at Qarnayim (Karnaim-Carnion). Erman read the name from Schumacher's rubbing as *t₃to-k₃-nw-t₃-d₃-p₃-nw* (AZ XXXI, 100 ff.), a reading which it is now easy to criticize, thanks to Burchardt's collection of materials in AKFW. It is quite impossible, and the correction is so natural, besides being almost the only possible one without throwing Erman's careful work away entirely, that it seems to me almost certain. The first two groups should not be read "reed-leaf" + "man" + three plural strokes, "ka-sign" + stroke, but rather "reed-leaf" + "man," group *t₃* (Burchardt 132). The group *t₃* is never followed by the plural sign, and the "ka-sign" is decidedly too

Age tell. Which one is hard to say without an exhaustive study of the possible sites; Hölscher's topographical discussion is not very convincing, and he places Asophon too far north, between the Wâdî el-'Arab and Wâdî el-Hammâr (Wâdî el-Qarn).¹⁰⁵ Jud. 12:1 states that the Ephraimites passed over Jordan to Safôn in order to attack Jephthah;¹⁰⁶ this would suggest that Safôn lay to the south of the northern border of the tribe of Ephraim, that is, south of the line Wâdî Qânah—Mahnêh—Ta'neh. Since this line passes across Jordan near the point where the Jabbok emerges from the hills, that is, south of Amathus, we can hardly place Safôn far north of Amathus. The most probable situation is then on the Wâdî Kafirîjî, at Fakâris¹⁰⁷ or perhaps better at Tell es-Sa'îdîyeh.¹⁰⁸ The Ephraimites would then have gathered at Shechem, marched down the Wâdî Fâr'ah, leaving it at 'Ain Sibleh, would have traversed the Buqeïf, and crossed the Jordan at Mahâdet el-Hamrâ, or the vicinity.

The identification of Succoth with Tell Deir'allâ agrees so well with the indications of the Jacob and Gideon stories that it is generally accepted, and cannot be far wrong.¹⁰⁹ The principal difficulty is in the name Dar'alah or Tar'alah of the Talmudic period, since it does not look like a late place-name, being quite unintelligible in Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic. Thiersch and Hölscher found Early Iron Age pottery at the mound, which is one of the finest in the Jordan Valley.¹¹⁰ Abel has suggested that the neighboring Tell el-Ehsâs, "Mound of Booths" (Heb. *sukkah, sukkôt* = Arab. *buss, ahşâs*) has preserved the name.¹¹¹ This idea commends itself, but it does not necessarily follow that the mound is actually the site of Succoth, since the name may have wandered. In any case the two mounds are only a mile apart.

The remaining town, Zarethan, has been combined with Qarn Sarṭabeh

small in the facsimile copy. A visit to the stone proved only that there is no more hope of adding to the results already secured, since the face has evidently suffered still more during the past generation. Our emendation of Erman's reading gives us the consonantal result *'Itn-dpn*, that is, *Adôn-safôn* (in the New Empire Eg. *d* and *t* fell together in pronunciation). The god Adôn-safôn, "Lord of the North," is a very interesting doublet of Ba'al-safôn, whose name has exactly the same meaning.

¹⁰⁵ For the names cf. Schumacher's maps of Transjordan, sheets A4 and A5, and Abel, RB 1911, 416.

¹⁰⁶ The *safônah* of the Hebrew text is taken in the sense of "to Safôn" by the best commentators; the old translation "northward" is devoid of sense in this connexion.

¹⁰⁷ Schumacher gives the spelling *Faqâris*, but Abel, RB 1911, 414, n. 3, points out that it is pronounced locally *Fiçâris*, that is, *Fakâris*.

¹⁰⁸ Abel (*loc. cit.*) states that Fakâris is only a *kirbeh*, while Tell Sa'îdîyeh is a "beau tell."

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Hölscher, ZDPV XXXIII, 20 f.; Dalman, PJB 1913, 72.

¹¹⁰ MDOG 23, 33.

¹¹¹ RB 1910, 555 f.

and Zeredah, but neither has anything to do with it,¹¹² and its localization in Cisjordan is out of the question, as the writer has elsewhere pointed out.¹¹³ According to I Kings 4:12,¹¹⁴ Sartān¹¹⁵ was situated near (or opposite) Abel-meholah. Jud. 7:22 seems to locate it to the north of Tabbat, the latter being on the opposite side of the Jordan from Abel-meholah.¹¹⁶ Since Tabbat has been happily identified with Rās Abū Tābāt, northeast of Fakāris, Sartān is presumably north of it, that is, perhaps at the fine mound of Tell Sleihāt.¹¹⁷

The identifications proposed in the foregoing paragraphs—Sartān = Tell Sleihāt, Ṣafōn = Tell es-Sa'idiyeh,—are only tentative, but cannot well be seriously wrong. Both towns were probably occupied in the Bronze Age, as we may infer Succoth to have been from its prominence in the patriarchal stories.¹¹⁸ There are numerous smaller mounds in this district which merit examination, but it is hardly likely that the determination of their character would affect our treatment materially.

Just south of the confluence of the Jabbok and the Jordan, and about a mile east of the Dāmīeh ferry, lies the mound of Tell ed-Dāmīeh. It is small (60 paces across) but well-formed, and is covered with sherds of the Late Bronze (including the wishbone-handled milk bowl with seam patterns) and Early Iron. Tell ed-Dāmīeh is unquestionably the Adamah (not Adam) of Jos. 3:16 and I Kings 7:46.¹¹⁹ While the frequency of the name is such that we must be careful,¹²⁰ one cannot help wondering whether it may not

¹¹² Abel, RB 1910, 555, n. 3; cf. BULLETIN no. 11, p. 6; JPOS V, 33, n. 37. See also Lagrange, *Livre de Juges*, pp. 138-140.

¹¹³ Cf. JPOS V, 33.

¹¹⁴ See the discussion JPOS V, 26, 32 f.

¹¹⁵ The Aramaizing Aramaic punctuation *Sārēṭān* is wrong; we should read the first syllable with a *qames ḥaṭuf*, *Sōrtān* = **Sūrtān*, a dissimilated form like *qorbān*. (cf. JPOS V, 38, n. 51).

¹¹⁶ The Hebrew text is corrupt; instead of בֵּית הַשְׁתָּה עַד שְׂפָה cf. *Sererātā* we should probably read: אֶל מִזְוֹלָה עַל שְׂפָה we should probably read: אֶל מִזְוֹלָה עַל שְׂפָה. Since the MSS exhibit some uncertainty as to whether 'ad or 'al should be read in a given case, and since the emendation of *Sererātā* to *Sartānah* (directive of *Sartān*) requires practically only the transposition of two letters, since *rēš* and *nūn* look very much alike in old Hebrew or Aramaic cursive, our reading is in no way unreasonable. For *nūs 'al*, "to flee past," cf. 'abar 'al, "to pass by." The Midianites then fled to Sartān by way of Bēt-ha-Šiṭṭah (= Šaṭṭah??), and to Tabbat by way of the Zōr east of Abel-meholah.

¹¹⁷ For Tell Sleihāt cf. Abel, RB 1911, 416.

¹¹⁸ It is true that the patriarchal stories seldom mention fortified towns, because of their being generally occupied only by Canaanites, but Succoth may have been in the possession of the Hebrews, like Peḥel (?—see above), Shechem and perhaps Dothan (Gen. 37:17).

¹¹⁹ See JPOS V, 33, n. 37.

¹²⁰ Note Adamah of Naphtali = Ḥirbet ed-Dāmīeh southwest of Tiberias; Ḥirbet

also be the Admah of Gen. 14, and whether its sister town *Sebōyim* may not be identical with one of the mounds in the neighborhood of Tell er-Rāmeh further south.¹²¹ It would seem that Adamah witnessed the crossing of the Israelites under Joshua, as maintained by Sellin,¹²² though another tradition of greater success places the crossing near Jericho.

Between the Jabbok and Wādī Nimrīn is an extensive section entirely devoid of ancient mounds, as it would seem. At the Wādī Nimrīn there are two: Tell el-Bleibil (Mound of the Little Bulbul), which lies north of the *wādī* at the point where the valley opens out into the plain, and Tell Nimrīn, further west, and south of the *wādī*. Tell el-Bleibil is small, but well-formed, and is covered with typical Early Iron Age pottery. Tell Nimrīn has a much poorer shape, and seems to be of later date, the pottery on it being mostly Roman and Byzantine. Tell Nimrīn is unquestionably the Nimrīn or Nimrī of the Talmud, and the Bethnambris, etc., of Greek sources, which Eusebius places five miles north of Livias (Tell er-Rāmeh).¹²³ The biblical Nimrah or Beth-nimrah, from which the later name was inherited, is, however, to be located at Tell Bleibil, less than a mile away.¹²⁴ As so often, the site was

Admah, northwest of Jisr el-Mujāmi'; Ma'aleh Adummim in Benjamin, now probably Tal'ated-Damm (popularly treated as "Ascent of Blood"), and the Egyptian names cited in note 48, above. Nor should we forget the names *Edōm* and *Dāmeh*, the latter of which is extremely common in Palestine, Syria and Arabia.

¹²¹ This possibility, which is on the whole less likely than the alternative one mentioned below, in connexion with the discussion of the cases of the southern Ghōr, gains weight slightly when we consider the problem of the Kikkar hay-Yarden, where the Cities of the Plain are apparently localized by the thirteenth chapter of Genesis (L = J1). The Kikkar hay-Yarden certainly refers in later sources to the Valley of the Jordan north of the Dead Sea, and Lot leaves Abram between Bethel and Ai, in order to go down into the Kikkar. If Admah and Zeboim were located in this region, but were confederate with the towns of the southern Ghōr, it might be easier to explain the apparent contradictions. We must, however, always bear in mind the possibility that the Kikkar hay-Yarden of the Lot Story was meant to designate the Dead Sea valley before the latter was flooded (cf. Gen. 14: 3). The theory of Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, pp. 222-239, that Sodom, Gomorrah and Zoar were all located in the region of Tell er-Rāmeh does not require attention, since its impossibility is equally clear from all standpoints.

¹²² Cf. Sellin, *Gilgal*, and JPOS V, 33, n. 37. An additional argument of great weight against the passage of the Jordan near Jericho by the Israelites under Joshua is the archaeological fact that Canaanite Jericho was destroyed at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, and that Ai was abandoned after about the same time. Joshua could not, therefore, have conquered these towns unless we dissociate him from the final Israelite invasion about 1230 B. C.

¹²³ Cf. Thomsen, *Loca Sancta*, pp. 34 f.; Abel, RB 1910, 543 f.; Klein, מתקרים II, p. 43, no. 1.

¹²⁴ Cf. BULLETIN no. 14, p. 3, where I regarded the ancient name as unknown.

changed in the Greek period to a more convenient one lower down and so more easily accessible.

Tell or Hirbet el-Kefrein, the site of Abel-Šittim and later Abila,¹²⁵ is not a true tell, and probably has no great antiquity. Tell er-Râmeh, on the other hand, is probably more ancient. It is the site of the Roman Bethramtha-Livias, and inherited the name of the Hebrew Bêt-harâm, the southernmost of the four Hebrew towns of the Jordan Valley mentioned Jos. 13:27. The Early Iron Age site may not be at Tell er-Râmeh itself, but rather at one of the other mounds in the immediate vicinity, especially Tell Sâghûr and Tell Iktanû, small mounds with curious names, not hitherto studied by trained archaeologists.¹²⁶ Tell er-Râmeh is at all events not a prominent mound, since the writer was unable to locate it exactly for want of a competent guide, though passing within a mile of it.

On the right side of the Jordan there are no early mounds at all between the Dâmieh ferry and Jericho. Even in the 'Aujah region there is only Tell et-Trûnî near the headwaters of the 'Aujah, but this little mound is really no longer in the Jordan Valley proper. In the fertile oasis watered by the Wadi Qelî and 'Ain es-Sultân one mound, Tell es-Sultân, ancient Jericho, overshadows all others. Only one of the smaller mounds has been excavated, and it proved to contain the ruins of a Herodian construction. On none of these smaller ruins have I found pre-Roman pottery, so most of them probably date back only to the Roman period, like Tell Abû el-'Alâ'iq, just referred to.

Tell es-Sultân, after premature and unproductive soundings by Warren, was examined by Bliss, who recognized the great importance of the site, and finally excavated by Sellin and Watzinger during 1907-9. It is a large mound, occupied continuously, or nearly so, from the foundation of the town to early in the Late Bronze. The writer has elsewhere discussed the dating of the earlier strata at Jericho, and has pointed out, in accord with Vincent and Phythian-Adams, that the fourth level of Jericho was not Israelite, but Middle Bronze, and that the site remained unoccupied from about 1500 to 900 B. C.¹²⁷ The third level, instead of belonging to the middle of the second millennium, must be assigned to the beginning of this millennium, and the two preceding ones must be carried back to the third millennium, if not earlier.

Watzinger was not able to reach virgin soil anywhere in the core of the mound. At one point he sank a trench down to more than nine meters below

¹²⁵ Cf. Abel, RB 1910, 542 f.

¹²⁶ Cf. Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, pp. 235 ff. and contrast note 121, above. For Tell er-Râmeh cf. also Musil, *Moab*, p. 338, where a photograph showing Tell er-Râmeh from the hills to the east is given.

¹²⁷ Cf. ANNUAL, Vol. IV, p. 147, where I have corrected an error of dating in JPOS II, 134.

the surface of the mound, but was unable to continue, owing to the narrowness of the trench and the treacherousness of the earth.¹²⁸ The deepest point reached was five meters above the level of the basin at 'Ain es-Sultān, which was taken arbitrarily as zero by the excavators, but very probably is on the actual plane of the first settlement. Above this point four levels of wall were found between + 5 and + 9.50, all of which were included for convenience in the "prehistoric" stratum (g).¹²⁹ The minimum deposit of 4.50 meters which we must allow for this stratum would suggest a period of at least five to six hundred years, on the basis of the rate of deposit at Tell el-Hesi, also formed by the débris of brick construction (see above on Beth-shan). In view of the fact that this estimate is an extreme minimum, the actual time covered by stratum (g) may well have been as much as a thousand years. Practically nothing was learned regarding the culture of this age, since the lowest stratum was only reached in three places, and not enough was discovered to warrant the excavators in describing any of the distinct features of its pottery, always the first and most abundant class of material to be found.

In the northwestern part of the site a massive adobe wall of exceptionally large bricks, with a total width of 5.60 meters, was found, belonging to stratum g, but to which phase of it is not certain.¹³⁰ Since it projected beyond the double wall of the second stratum (f), it would seem that the oldest acropolis lay north of the later one, and perhaps entirely outside of it. However this may be, it is interesting to know that such a massive fortress wall was constructed in the Jordan Valley not later than the early part of the third millennium. We shall later have occasion to dwell on the importance of this fact.

The double wall of stratum (f) was built over the massive wall of the oldest stratum, and formed an almost rectangular enclosure, about 210 meters by 120. The area of the second town was thus nearly 2.5 hectares, or about the same as that of Yanō'am (see above). The wall consisted of a thick inner wall, having an average width of 3.50 meters, and a thinner outer one, about 1.50 meters wide. Wooden beams and platforms were freely used in the construction of the walls, and were burned at the capture of the town.¹³¹ This settlement flourished somewhere in the second half of the third millennium.

The third stratum (e) is characterized by a peculiar type of ceramic culture, with combed or punctured decoration.¹³² This settlement dates from immediately after the fall of the preceding one, as is shown by the fact that bricks from the fortifications were used for its house-walls.¹³³ The pottery is

¹²⁸ *Jericho*, p. 19.

¹³¹ *Jericho*, pp. 29, 32 f.

¹²⁹ *Jericho*, pp. 17-20.

¹³² *Jericho*, pp. 108 ff.

¹³⁰ *Jericho*, pp. 17 f.

¹³³ *Jericho*, p. 46.

peculiar, and, as Watzinger points out, rare elsewhere in Palestine. It has at all events nothing to do with the characteristic Syrian comb-faced ware which we have discussed above in connexion with Bêt-yerah, and which dates from the early part of the third millennium. Nor have Watzinger's comparisons with Late Bronze wares from northwestern Asia Minor (Troy VI)¹³⁴ any basis, since the distance, both in time and place, is insuperable. The writer has found some sherds of a similar technique, which he assigned to the Middle or Late Bronze, at Tell es-Sârem near Beth-shan (see above), but they remain unparalleled in his experience, and may be very much later in date. It would appear that the culture of Jericho 3 is intrusive, despite the similarities to the contemporary wares of Palestine. Whence it came is still impossible to infer. This settlement may be dated to the end of the third millennium, and presumably continued for two or three centuries, though it is naturally impossible to fix the duration of such an occupation with any degree of exactness.

The fourth stratum (d) was examined with sufficient fullness to make a description of the culture really possible. As is well known to recent students, this level, assigned by Sellin and Watzinger to the Israelite period, is in reality Middle Bronze, while its wall is not Hielite, but Middle Canaanite. This is proved not only by the thoroughly Bronze Age character of the wall itself, as emphasized by Père Vincent,¹³⁵ but also by the ceramic remains.¹³⁶ The wall is a massive construction, consisting of a stone foundation, with a strong revetment of polygonal masonry, and an adobe superstructure. The pottery is characteristically Middle Bronze, all main types being represented, with a very few Late Bronze pieces. Among the typically Middle Bronze types may be mentioned: the piriform juglet with a button base and a double loop handle generally fastened to the neck below the mouth, with the black-polished, white-punctured Tell el-Yahûdiyeh vase as the most characteristic sub-type;¹³⁷ the handleless amphora with a trumpet-foot, carinated body and white slip;¹³⁸ the slender pitcher with a pointed base and an elongated loop-handle;¹³⁹ "teapot" with cylindrical spout, projecting upward from below the rim.¹⁴⁰ The depression of this pottery to the Israelite period, nearly a millennium too late,

¹³⁴ *Jericho*, p. 111.

¹³⁵ RB 1913, 456-8.

¹³⁶ *Jericho*, pp. 122-136.

¹³⁷ *Jericho*, pp. 125 f., plates 29-30. A fragment of a Tell el-Yahûdiyeh vase is figured on p. 130. Cf. Vincent, *Céramique*, p. 10.

¹³⁸ *Jericho*, p. 122.

¹³⁹ *Jericho*, p. 125, C, 10.

¹⁴⁰ *Jericho*, p. 125, C, 13, and photograph of group of pottery on p. 71, fig. 43. For related types cf. Vincent, RB 1923, pp. 570 f., and plate IX. Cf. also above for degenerate spouts of the same basic character.

was due mainly to the final conviction of the excavators that the wall with the revetment, being the latest wall on the site, must be Hielite, and the contemporaneous stratum would therefore have to be Israelite. Another main reason was that Sellin referred the cuneiform tablets of the Late Bronze found at Taanach¹⁴¹ to the stratum marked by characteristically Early-Middle Bronze incised ware, and lowered the date of this pottery, found in the second stratum of Jericho, to the middle of the second millennium, thus misleading Watzinger,¹⁴² who knew nothing of the English work on Palestinian pottery except from the publications, which he evidently regarded with profound suspicion. Finally, Watzinger depended largely upon vague Aegean or Cypriote analogies, now known to be baseless.¹⁴³ Subsequent students have been confused by the fact that a number of true Iron Age vases from burials were erroneously associated with the Middle Bronze pottery from other burials which Watzinger ascribed correctly to the fourth stratum.¹⁴⁴

In this stratum were also found a number of scarab impressions on amphora handles—eleven in all, from five scarab seals.¹⁴⁵ Schäfer and Borchardt dated the scarabs all to the Middle Empire, between 1900 and 1550 B. C., and emphasized the fact that they were genuine Egyptian scarabs, not Syrian imitations. This incongruence in date led Sellin to infer that the scarabs had been collected and used centuries after their original importation into Palestine. Since elsewhere in Palestine, notably at Gezer, scarabs of precisely the same Middle Empire type have always been found associated with characteristic Middle Bronze pottery, we must naturally suppose that the same was true at Jericho.

The exact date of the settlement is harder to determine, since our present knowledge of early pottery will not allow too exact use of it for chronological purposes. There can be no doubt that the painted sherds published by Watzinger exhibit characteristics of the transitional period between Middle

¹⁴¹ Cf. JPOS II, 132, where the writer was still misled by Sellin's impossible association of the cuneiform tablets with the older stratum containing pottery with notched and incised bands. Precisely the same mistake was made by Bliss at Tell el-Hesi, where a tablet of the Amarna period was found on a rubbish heap, and erroneously referred to the Middle Bronze stratum, below the burned level (JPOS II, 131; cf. BULLETIN no. 17, pp. 7 f.), which Bliss then felt himself obliged to date several centuries too late.

¹⁴² *Jericho*, pp. 107 f.

¹⁴³ *Jericho*, pp. 131 ff.

¹⁴⁴ The principal vases thus erroneously dated are C, 8; C, 19 (plates 28-9), both of which have Early Iron burnishing as well as Early Iron forms. C, 1 (cf. p. 142, fig. 153) looks like an Early Iron form, but one would want to examine the vase itself before passing judgment.

¹⁴⁵ *Jericho*, pp. 156 f.

Bronze and Late Bronze. The best types of the Middle Bronze do not appear, and the frequency of piriform juglets points unmistakably to the Hyksos Age. There are a very few true Late Bronze types, especially the wishbone-handled milk-bowl with white slip and seam patterns.¹⁴⁶ Only one sherd of the latter is described, however, so, in view of the great abundance of this ware on all Late Bronze sites of Palestine, including Transjordan as well as Cisjordan, the rarity of it is only another proof that Late Bronze is practically missing in Jericho. We may, therefore, place the date of the foundation of the fourth town of Jericho between 1900 and 1700 B. C., while we date the fall of this settlement between 1600 and 1500 B. C.

The next stratum belongs to the Early Iron, and may be confidently identified with Hielite Jericho, since its pottery is the same as that of the late pre-exilic period in Judah and Southern Israel. There is, accordingly, a lacuna in the archaeological record of Jericho, covering most of the Late Bronze and the beginning of the Early Iron, that is, at least five hundred years. In striking agreement with this fact is the total absence of any reference to Jericho in the Amarna Tablets, which mention practically all the other important towns of Palestine. Since the fourth town of Jericho was a flourishing city of nearly four hectares, or three-fourths the size of Megiddo, we should certainly expect to find mention of it in some connexion. The writer has elsewhere pointed out that the potsherds strewn on the site of et-Tell, ancient Ai, also belong to the Early-Middle Bronze period, and not to the latter part, at least, of the Late Bronze.¹⁴⁷ Since the fall of Jericho and Ai into the hands of the Hebrews forms practically a single episode in the traditions of the Conquest, it is impossible not to combine the clear-cut tradition with the evidence of the pottery, thus dating their capture to the sixteenth century B. C., or about 1500 B. C. at the latest.¹⁴⁸

We have seen that the early strata of Jericho carry us much farther back than was supposed by Watzinger, and that the oldest settlement on the site goes back into the fourth millennium, to about the same time indicated by the excavations at Beisân for that site. Doubtless the same high date will be indicated for many of the other mounds of the Jordan Valley, since they exhibit a very considerable deposit of human origin for the most part, while they were generally abandoned before the end of the Bronze Age.

We have now reached the southern end of the river in our southward progress, but we are still a long way north of the southern end of the Jordan Valley, to which the Dead Sea basin must, of course, be counted. This basin is divided into two parts, separated by the Lisân,¹⁴⁹ a peninsula of marl which

¹⁴⁶ *Jericho*, p. 124, B, 5. ¹⁴⁷ ANNUAL, Vol. IV, pp. 146 f. ¹⁴⁸ Cf. JPOS IV, 135, n. 3.

¹⁴⁹ For the use of this name cf. BULLETIN no. 14, p. 5. Some scholars have thought that the name referred properly to the gulf south of the Lisân.

juts into the present Dead Sea from the east. North of this the basin is very deep, reaching in one place the depth of 400 meters below Dead Sea level, or nearly 800 meters below sea level. Owing to the depth the coasts are very abrupt, being lined with cliffs nearly the whole way. There is only one oasis with fresh water and tillable soil in this whole region, at Engedi. The quantity of water which flows from the springs here is not great enough to irrigate much land, so the population of the oasis must always have been small. The oldest settlement in the district is at Tell ej-Jurn, a little mound some distance southeast of the springs.¹⁵⁰ This site was occupied in the Byzantine period, but rude walls and amorphous sherds on the sides may point to earlier periods of occupation. At best the early settlement at Engedi could hardly be dignified by the name of "town"; it was rather a fortress to which the population of the oasis might flee for protection against sudden raids from the south.

The southern half of the Dead Sea basin is very different in character. South of the Lisân we have a shallow depression, nowhere more than five meters below Dead Sea level. This shallow valley rises gradually toward the south, and more rapidly toward the east, while it is hemmed in by cliffs on the west. There can be no doubt that the Dead Sea has encroached on this basin in comparatively recent times, since the level of the sea is constantly rising. It is hardly necessary to recapitulate all the evidence showing that the Dead Sea level has been steadily rising for the last century; one of the most careful students of this problem, V. Schwöbel, maintains that the level is about two meters higher than in the time of the English survey,¹⁵¹ and that the southern basin is fully a third larger than it was a century ago.¹⁵² This estimate may be exaggerated slightly, but that the increase has been considerable cannot be doubted. Thus, for example, in the Ghôr es-Şâfi many square miles of former tamarisk groves are now under water, and the naked boughs project in the most uncanny way from the waters of death.¹⁵³ The road along the base of the Jebel Usdum, which in De Saulcy's time was 80-230 meters wide, has been under water since the early nineties, and has long since been absolutely unfordable. Similarly, the famous island at the

¹⁵⁰ Cf. BULLETIN no. 18, p. 14.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Schroetter, *Das Tote Meer* (Wien und Leipzig, 1924), p. 12, where the present level of the Dead Sea is fixed at about -390 meters, or two meters higher than Schwöbel's estimate of -392, as against the -394 of the Survey. These figures would indicate a rise of about four meters in half a century! Masterman's measurements at Ras el-Fešhah (QS 1913, 192 ff.) have proved that the annual variation is only about 60-90 cm.

¹⁵² See Schwöbel, *Der Jordangraben* (in *Zwölf länderkundliche Studien* [Hettner Festschrift]), pp. 140 f.

¹⁵³ Cf. the photograph reproduced by Père Mallon, *Biblica*, Vol. V, p. 436.

northern end of the Dead Sea, Rujm el-Bâhr, has been submerged since 1892.¹⁵⁴ The disappearance of the passage across the Sea by way of the Lisân, over which caravans of camels used to make their way from Kerak to Hebron until about the middle of the nineteenth century, must be ascribed to the action of an earthquake, and is not entirely due to the rise of the water level.¹⁵⁵

The cause of this rise has been variously explained. The most popular explanation is simply that the inflow of the Jordan and other streams is greater than the amount of evaporation.¹⁵⁶ The writer was formerly inclined to attribute this supposed disproportion to the irregularity of river-flow caused by the increasing diminution of forests in the upper reaches of the Jordan and in Gilead. The amount of diminution, however, has been relatively unimportant, so far as the drainage is concerned, so this idea will hardly go far to explain the phenomenon of the rise of the Dead Sea. The growth of the Jordan delta and the deposit of silt from the streams emptying into the Sea must obviously have a share in producing this result, but they are not sufficient. Nor will the popular theory of precipitation cycles serve to explain, since this theory requires the assumption of a greatly *decreased* rainfall in recent times, as elaborately set forth by Ellsworth Huntington. The writer has elsewhere proposed another theory, which seems adequate to explain most of the observed rise.¹⁵⁷ The water of the Dead Sea contains about one-fourth its weight in mineral salts, which originate mainly in the innumerable hot springs which line the Jordan Valley from one end to the other, and are especially numerous along the shores of the Dead Sea, both above and below the water line. The influx of the salts into a body of water which already contains them in saturated solution, and which is evaporating with unequalled rapidity under the blazing sun, naturally means that there is a constant and rapid deposition of mineral crystals on the bottom. How rapidly this process may raise the level of the bottom may be judged from the parallel of the Jebel Usdum, whose mass of rock-salt and gypsum was reared in precisely the same way. The volume of water in the Sea is, therefore, not increasing materially, but the rise of the sea-bottom naturally produces a concomitant rise of the surface, probably not so rapid, since the water is constantly invading the shores of the southern basin, and thus spreading over a greater area, a fact which must mean an increase in the amount of evaporation. It follows that the Dead Sea has been encroaching upon the land around it ever since

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Blanckenhorn, *Naturwissenschaftliche Studien am Toten Meer*, p. 111, and Schwöbel, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Musil, *Moab*, p. 172, n. 8.

¹⁵⁶ E. g., Schroetter, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. BULLETIN no. 14, p. 7; *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1924, pp. 284 f.

it reached its lowest level sometime after the end of the last pluvial period. It is true that Huntington and others, following Clermont-Ganneau, have maintained that the Dead Sea has been shrinking all this time, owing to the fact that the mouth of the Jordan was farther upstream in the Old Testament age than it is now, if their plausible interpretation of the evidence is correct.¹⁵⁸ Their view regarding the former position of the Jordan mouth near Beth-hoglah may well be correct, though it cannot be proven, yet the explanation of this apparent anomaly is to be found in the growth of the Jordan delta southward, pushing back the water faster than the latter can rise, owing to the large proportion of silt contained in the river water.

The southeastern corner of the Dead Sea is lined by a plain which begins at Ghôr el-Hadîtheh and Ghôr el-Mezra'ah, includes Ghôr 'Esâl and Ghôr en-Numeirah, and ends at Ghôr es-Sâfi and Ghôr el-Feifeh. In the north and south this plain is wider, while in the middle it has been reduced in places to a narrow passage between the eastern cliffs and the sea. This strip of plain is watered by a series of fresh-water streams: the Seil el-Buqsâseh, Seil ed-Drâ, Seil 'Esâl, Seil en-Numeirah, Seil el-Qurâhî and Seil el-Feifeh. The latter is, however, less important than the rest, while the Seil el-Qurâhî is beyond doubt the finest of them all, being a beautiful stream with limpid water of an excellent flavor and a flow practically equal to that of the Nahr Jâlûd at Beisân. In the Middle Ages this region was densely peopled, and supported flourishing sugar and indigo plantations.¹⁵⁹ It is only reasonable to suppose that it was occupied also in the Bronze Age, since in the Jordan Valley north of the Dead Sea we have found mounds existing wherever there is water for irrigation and a small plain to irrigate. There is no material difference in climate between the Jordan Valley from Beisân to Jericho and the southernmost part of the Ghôr. The inherent probability is supported by the clear testimony of the oldest Hebrew traditions, according to which there were four rich cities in the southern part of the Dead Sea valley⁹ during the age of Abraham, and all were annihilated by a cataclysmic upheaval of nature from which only the ancestor of the Moabites escaped.

To the writer the probability of an extension of the Bronze Age culture into this district appeared so high that he organized an expedition with the aid of President M. G. Kyle of Xenia Theological Seminary, who provided the funds, for the purpose of securing archaeological evidence bearing on the question. This expedition visited the southern Ghôr in February-March, 1924, and combed the territory between Hadîfheh and Feifeh with the utmost care.

¹⁵⁸ See Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, Vol. V, pp. 267 ff.; Huntington, *Palestine and its Transformation*, pp. 303 ff.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. BULLETIN no. 14, p. 4.

The main course of the expedition has been described elsewhere,¹⁶⁰ and need not be recapitulated here, specially since detailed accounts of the most important results will be published hereafter. To our great surprise we failed at first to find any traces of early occupation at all. Even the Byzantine-Arabic Zoar, certainly identified with Hirbet Šeih ‘Isā and the Tawâḥîn es-Sukkar, which are together sometimes called el-Qeryeh by the Arabs, proved on being sounded to be entirely later than the Old Testament period.¹⁶¹ Explanation of these negative results became easy, however, after a thorough study of the character of the oases and especially of the material establishing the rise of the Dead Sea, set forth above. The supply of water for irrigation being constant in each oasis, the area of the irrigated land naturally remained approximately the same at all times, at least whenever the available water supply was efficiently utilized. Each oasis would move back and forth according to the position of the irrigating ditches and the point at which water was diverted from the main stream. With the advance of the salt-water line, the stream was tapped farther and farther back, so that the average size of the oasis remained constant. Of course, the size of the oasis was much greater in the early Middle Ages, when a strong government established order, and the construction of numerous aqueducts and reservoirs made it possible to store water and carry it without loss. Today, under the slovenly care of the local Ghawârneh, the resources of the oases are not properly utilized. In the Bronze Age one would expect a well-developed irrigation culture, as we shall see, perhaps inferior to that prevailing in the Middle Ages, but certainly superior to the modern lack of system or management. It should also be noted that each stream will support one town, but no more, if we disregard open hamlets or small fortresses. The reason for this is naturally that a town situated above another on the same stream would divert all the water for its own use, and deprive the other of its means of subsistence. We therefore never find more than one ancient Bronze Age mound on a single minor stream in the Jordan Valley; apparent exceptions are due to the fact that adjacent ruins may have been occupied at different times or may represent a larger and a smaller settlement under the same local administration.

In view of these considerations, it seems perfectly rational to assume the

¹⁶⁰ BULLETIN no. 14, pp. 2-12; *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1924, pp. 276-291; *Biblica*, Vol. V, pp. 413-455 (by Père Mallon—a very good account with numerous illustrations).

¹⁶¹ BULLETIN no. 14, p. 4. A Byzantine inscription from this site was published by Duncan, QS 1924, 35-40; cf. Alt, QS 1924, 191-2. A Hebrew grave-stone from the same age was also found here recently by the Ghawârneh, and will be published by Cowley, to whom Mr. Philby gave a rubbing taken by himself while British Resident at ‘Ammân. A Hebrew colony at Zoar is mentioned in the Talmud; cf. Klein, *מִחְרַבּ*, III, p. 29.

correctness of the traditional view that the Cities of the Plain are now buried under the waters of the Dead Sea. The Old Testament Zoar would then have been situated on the Seil el-Qurâhi below the Byzantine site. Sodom, which Hebrew tradition places nearest Zoar, may perhaps have been on the lower course of the Seil en-Numeirah, while Gomorrah may have been on the Seil 'Esûl.¹⁶² The other two towns, Admah and Sebôyîm, were either not so important as Sodom and Gomorrah or were more remote. It is possible that they were actually situated farther north in the Plain of the Jordan (*kikkar hay-Yarden*), as the writer has suggested, but a serious argument against this view is the fact that Tell ed-Dâmîeh (Adamah) is so small, while Sebôyîm is otherwise unrecorded in this region. Possibly we should look for them rather in the lower course of the Seil ed-Drâ' and the Seil el-Buqsâseh, in which case they are now submerged below the surface of the bay of el-Mezra'ah. No objection can be raised from the situation of these towns so far from the hills, because of the relative extent of the plain here; ancient Bronze Age mounds were located near the fields which their inhabitants cultivated.

The foregoing argument is plausible, but cannot be said to be probable unless we can produce collateral evidence that this region really was occupied during the Bronze Age. Fortunately, this evidence is in our possession, thanks to our researches at Bâb ed-Drâ'.¹⁶³ Shortly before the close of our archaeological survey of the Ghôr we examined the plain of ed-Drâ' (Sahel ed-Drâ'), lying on the edge of the Ghôr el-Mezra'ah and athwart the road from Hadîtheh to Kerak, about five hundred feet above the Dead Sea. Here Père Mallon discovered a number of burial cairns from prehistoric times, and following up this clue we found a great fortress, an extensive open-air settlement with enclosures and hearths, as well as a group of fallen monoliths, all belonging to the third millennium B. C., according to the clear ceramic evidence. The more elaborate publication of these finds, with plans and drawings, will appear shortly, so that it is not necessary to go into detail, and we may content ourselves with the recapitulation of the outstanding points.

The fortress is an elongated enclosure of stone, built on the edge of the cliff overlooking the deep ravine of the Seil ed-Drâ' from the south. Here there is a slight rise in the ground, along the edge of which a wall of large field stones, seldom or never shaped, was laid, so as to include a terrain about 320 meters long and 100 wide, but very irregular in form. On the ravine side no wall was necessary, though one may have existed and have been carried away by landslides. The wall proper was about four meters thick, on the average, with a glacis about five meters high to protect its outer face. It is

¹⁶² Cf. BULLETIN no. 14, pp. 8 f.; *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1924, pp. 285 f.

¹⁶³ BULLETIN no. 14, pp. 5-7; *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1924, pp. 278 ff.; *Biblica*, Vol. V, pp. 443-451 (with illustrations).

not likely that the total height of the wall was much greater than this, since the amount of loose stone along the base is comparatively small. In places where the wall was carried up a steep slope it is built in steps, which are still preserved in a number of places along the eastern end. Inside the wall there are a number of remains of buildings with rectangular walls of field stones, but most of the space was left unoccupied, except for hearths. There is no deposit of débris except along the wall and near the few buildings erected inside, so there can be no doubt that we have here a fortified camp or a stronghold, and not a town. The pottery and other remains inside the enclosure are identical with the corresponding remains outside.

Outside the fortress, especially on the southern side, the surface of the plain is strewn for hundreds of meters with the foundations of round and square stone enclosures for individual families, in practically all of which the hearth may still be traced. In and around these foundations are scattered broken potsherds, flint artifacts, loom-weights and spindle-whorls, millstones, whole and broken, besides other objects once used by the occupants of our settlement. Around the edges of the fortress and settlement, especially toward the west and east, are numerous burials, mostly indicated by cairns or small stone-circles with an average diameter of about four meters. The burials have been opened in several cases by Arabs, and prove to date from the same period as the settlement.

About fifteen minutes east of the fortress is a remarkable group of fallen limestone monoliths, six in number with broken fragments, close together, of a seventh. The largest of these monoliths measures 4.40 by 1.70 by (.80-1.00) meters. They are entirely isolated, and cannot have belonged to any sort of a structure, while the stone is not found in the neighborhood and must have been dragged for miles. There can, therefore, be no doubt whatever that they represent a group of sacred cult-stones, or *massebôt*, probably seven in number, at which the religious rites of the community of Bâb ed-Drá' were performed.

The pottery is very interesting, and characteristically Early Bronze, though some of the pieces may belong to the early part of the Middle Bronze. Though homogeneous in the main it appears to date over a period of centuries, covering the second half of the third millennium at least. It is, however, important to note that the characteristic Syrian combed ware of Byblos, Hirbet Kerak and Tell el-Qassis is absent and that our combed ware is precisely like that of *Jericho*, p. 102, no. 15, etc. The "band-slip" ware of Hirbet Kerak is entirely missing, as is also the continuously polished red and black ware which was so prominent a type there. Following are the principal types represented: large bowls or platters with inverted rims, nearly all of which are burnished more or less continuously, but with irregular strokes of the burnishing tool (like *Jericho*, p. 101, fig. 86); jugs or amphoras with plastic

rings marked or notched by pressure of the finger in such a way as to resemble cords (like *Jericho*, p. 100, fig. 80); vessels with projecting or narrow wavy ledge-handles (*Jericho*, p. 99, fig. 73; 104, fig. 92); small water jugs or decanters with narrow necks and vertical loop handles; globular "tea-pots" (see above on Bêt-yerah) with horizontal projecting spout below the rim (cf. *Jericho*, p. 101, fig. 88, which is covered with burnished red slip like our best specimen). A most characteristic form of ornamentation in bowls and wide-mouthed jugs is to rill the outside, just below the rim, from one to half a dozen times. A striking feature of the Bâb ed-Drâ' pottery is the comparative rarity of the small lug-handles (*Schnurösen*), a fact that suggests caution in dating the pottery, since the lug-handle is an older type than the loop-handle. Since the types listed above are all found more or less exactly in the ceramic culture of the first period of the Jericho pottery (=Jericho I),¹⁶⁴ the fact that the lug-handle is less common at Bâb ed-Drâ' than at Jericho, while the loop-handle is relatively more frequent, points to a slightly later age, on the whole, for Bâb ed-Drâ'. The pottery of the third town of Jericho (Watzinger's *spätkanaanäisch*) is entirely different, and cannot be used for comparison, but may well be contemporary in a general way with Bâb ed-Drâ'.¹⁶⁵

Mallon has compared the flint artifacts of Bâb ed-Drâ', collected by the hundred, with the flints of Jericho and elsewhere in Palestine.¹⁶⁶ As he has pointed out, the artifacts of Bâb ed-Drâ' are all either knives or scrapers of various types, the former predominating. On the whole, the artifacts of Bâb ed-Drâ' are inferior in type to those of Jericho, a fact which Père Mallon is inclined to explain by the relative isolation of the more southern station. I would rather explain it as being due to the greater antiquity of the bulk of artifacts from Jericho, since it is well known that the workmanship of flint implements degenerates steadily after the introduction of bronze. The argument from the character of the flints is then in agreement with our conclusions from a comparison of the pottery: the average date of the settlement at Bâb ed-Drâ' is later than the second town of Jericho, though not

¹⁶⁴ It must be remembered that Watzinger's first ceramic period, which he calls *Kanaanäisch*, represents the pottery of his second stratum almost entirely, since the phases of occupation grouped together as the first stratum were hardly scratched by the excavation of Jericho.

¹⁶⁵ The latest date for the pottery of Bâb ed-Drâ', according to the old system adopted by Macalister in Gezer, would be about the eighteenth century B.C., where he placed the line of demarcation between First and Second Semitic. His chronology is here based upon the fact that scarabs of the Egyptian Middle Empire (2000-1600 B.C.) are found at Gezer both with First and Second Semitic pottery, so that the division between these periods would fall roughly about 1800 B.C. This *terminus ad quem* is quite in accord with our conclusions from other premises.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Mallon, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1924, pp. 271-5; *Biblica*, 1924, 445 f.

much later. We may, therefore, assign the former to the end of the second millennium, though granting that it continued from the middle of the third millennium, if not earlier, to the beginning of the second, at the latest. Bâb ed-Drâ' was certainly abandoned before the foundation of Jericho IV, the Middle Bronze town, that is, roughly before the eighteenth century B. C.

What was the character of this settlement, which certainly did not partake of the nature of a town, owing to the absence of débris? In the writer's opinion, shared by Père Mallon, there can be no doubt that Bâb ed-Drâ' was a place of pilgrimage, where annual feasts were celebrated, and to which people came, living in booths and merry-making for several days of the year. It was thus a primitive *gilgal* or *mayumas*, corresponding to the modern Nebî Mûsâ or Nebî Rûbîn. From ancient Moab we have a good parallel in Baal-peor. Whether the festival celebrated was vernal or autumnal, like Passover or Tabernacles, remains to be discovered; the Hebrew parallel suggests the latter, while the modern Palestinian analogues point to the former alternative. The objects found show that the people came with asses, on which were laden household utensils, basalt hand-mills, and grain, while animals for slaughter were led behind, to be killed and skinned with the flint knives and scrapers found on the site. Spindle whorls and loom-weights show that the women continued to spin and weave during their stay at the festival grounds. There can be little doubt that the rites practised at this festival were in part licentious in character, as Canaanite religion tended to be.

Whence did the feasters come—from the highland plains of Moab or from the Ghôr? It is hard to see how there can be any question that they were natives of the Ghôr. In the first place, the situation of Bâb ed-Drâ', 150 meters, or nearly five hundred feet, above Dead Sea level, is such that it is much more easily reached from the Ghôr than from the highlands of Moab, four thousand feet above. No feasts are celebrated in winter, the only time of the year when highlanders from the plateau of Moab would dream of descending into the torrid heat of the southern Ghôr. To the people of the Ghôr, the situation of Bâb ed-Drâ', overlooking the Lisân and the Dead Sea, while exposed to all the cooling breezes from the west, must have seemed delightful. It is impossible to see why the highlanders should have brought their dead down to Bâb ed-Drâ' for burial, whereas the place is readily accessible from the Ghôr, and the idea of providing a cool spot for the shades is common in the ancient Orient, in Mesopotamia as well as in Egypt.¹⁶⁷ Secondly, the booths were constructed with stone foundations, most of which have the rectangular shape which would only occur to dwellers in houses. In those days the plateau of Moab was occupied by a nomadic or semi-nomadic

¹⁶⁷ Cf. AJSL XXXV, 171, etc.

population, which dwelt in tents or caves. Thirdly, the presence of the fortress, with its wall and glacis which remind one of the fortifications of Jericho, can most easily be explained by supposing that it was built in order to provide refuge for the merry-makers in case of a sudden razzia from the hills. A nomadic population would never have constructed so large and well-fortified an enclosure, but would at most have contented itself with a small fortress in a strong position.

We have thus demonstrated that the men of Bâb ed-Drâ' belonged to Bronze Age towns in the Ghôr, now covered by the waters of the Dead Sea. In other words, they came from the half-legendary Cities of the Plain, Sodom, Gomorrah and Zoar, Admah and Zeboim. Whether all or some only of these towns participated in the annual pilgrimage to Bâb ed-Drâ' will doubtless remain forever obscure. Of special value to us, however, is the archaeological testimony to the existence of towns in this region during the Early Bronze, as clearly required by the Hebrew traditions, unless we are to relegate them to the realm of myth. It is then hardly possible to separate the abandonment of Bâb ed-Drâ' from the destruction of the Cities of the Plain. Even should one be unwilling to accept the conclusions of our argument for the connexion of Bâb ed-Drâ' with towns in the Ghôr, now under water, the mere fact that the material remains at Bâb ed-Drâ' stop in the same general age as the end of Sodom and Gomorrah, according to any system of biblical chronology, cannot but be very striking. The traditions regarding the Cities of the Plain place their end at the very beginning of Hebrew settlement in Canaan, which was associated with the name of Abraham. Fortunately, we have a remarkable contact between the Cities of the Plain and the outside world, described in the Fourteenth Chapter of Genesis. If the character of this synchronism can be determined, we shall be in a position to obtain the approximate date of the destruction of these towns of the Ghôr.

During the past decade, quite independently, Böhl, Jirku and the writer have been pursuing investigations in the early history of the Hebrews and the Fourteenth Chapter of Genesis which have led to strikingly similar conclusions.¹⁶⁸ All identify the Hebrews with the Habiru, stress their origin—historically speaking—in northwestern Mesopotamia and their close association with the “Hittites” and related peoples, and refer Genesis XIV to events of the great Dark Age in the history of Western Asia, between 1900 and 1400 B. C. In fact, the dates for the events described in Gen. 14 last proposed by Böhl and the writer—in entire independence of one another—differ only

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Böhl, *Die Könige von Genesis 14*, ZATW XXXVI (1916), 65-73; *Tud'alia I Zeitgenosse Abrahams, um 1650 v. Chr.*, ZATW, 1924, 148-153; Jirku, ZATW XXXIX, 152 ff., 313 f.; *Altorientalischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament*, pp. 57 ff.; Albright, JPOS I, 68-70; II, 129 ff.; AJSL XL, 125-133; JBL XLIII, 385-393.

by a quarter century, 1675-1650 B.C.! The chapter in question does not belong to any of the documents, and has generally been assigned to a very late date. Jirku, however, has convincingly shown that its peculiarities are mostly such as to connect it with the fragmentary Hittite and Canaanite records of the second millennium, in which case it is earlier than the documents, instead of being later. Of course, the date of its composition in its present form may be very late, while its original composition may be early. The writer is strongly inclined, for reasons which will be presented elsewhere, to regard the prose narrative of Gen. 14 as based upon an old poetic saga or epic, traces of which still pierce through the prose abridgment.¹⁶⁹ Nor is it difficult to explain how the epic might have been preserved. The real hero is clearly not Abraham, but Melchizedek, king of Salem,¹⁷⁰ who receives as a right tithes which Abraham pays him. Melchizedek, however, was the principal figure in a romance which pictured him as "without father or mother, without lineage, without having either beginning of days or end of life,"¹⁷¹ assimilating him, in other words, to the heroes of the Sargon Epic and the Atraḥasis Epic.¹⁷² Such a romance regarding an early king of Jerusalem

¹⁶⁹ Note especially the following poetic or archaic (*respective archaic*) passages: v. 10 (הַנְשָׁאָרִים הָרָה נָסָו בָּאֲרוֹת חָמָר); v. 14 ("ירַק אֶת חָנִיכֵו"); v. 14, which is written almost throughout in a good 3 + 3 meter with typically poetic repetitions and amplifications. The poetic character of the last section, and its enigmatic motive indicate that it is, after all, perhaps the most original part of the whole chapter. It is easy to see why the Priestly editor included it, since the moral was excellent—to the receiver of the tithes.

¹⁷⁰ *Salem* is clearly the same as *Yerû-salem*, as maintained by most scholars and commentators who have discussed the question during the last two thousand years. The other towns of the name (*Salem* near Shechem, *Salumias* near Scythopolis) have no such early remains as required, quite aside from their small size. Thanks to the archaeological exploration of "Ophel" we now know that Jerusalem was a fortified town in the first half of the third millennium, and was occupied continuously thereafter, or nearly so. It may be added that the goddess *Sulmānītu-Sulammit* was connected with Jerusalem because of the abbreviated form of the name, *Salem*; Böhl's suggestion that Jerusalem is identical with the *Uru-silim-ma* of Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenem Inhalts*, no. 73, 7 = 145, b, 6, with its goddess *Sulmānītu*, is hardly likely, though the possibility of some indirect connexion cannot be denied (cf. Böhl, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, pp. 76-80).

¹⁷¹ Heb. 7: 3. This view of Melchizedek is unquestionably older.

¹⁷² For the Sargon Epic cf. JSOR VII, 1-20. The Atraḥasis Epic has been treated in an unpublished paper, in which other similarities between Atraḥasis and Melchizedek have been stressed. It may be added that the names *Sarru-kēn*, "Legitimate King" (or "the King is Legitimate"), and *Malki-sedeq*, which could be interpreted as "Legitimate King," like the Phoenician *ben sedeq*, "legitimate son," formed a most important, and perhaps decisive reason for the assimilation of their figures; cf. JPOS

could only have arisen in Jerusalem. Since the latter maintained its autonomy down to the beginning of the tenth century, and its Jebusite population preserved its racial identity still longer, there is no difficulty in assuming a blending of Hebrew and Jebusite traditions, especially if we suppose that Abraham and the Hebrews figured in the Melchizedek Epic just as in the letters of ARAD-Heba, a successor of Melchizedek. A hostile attitude in the Jebusite tradition would naturally become a favorable one in the Jebusite-Jewish composition, and tribute would be interpreted as tithes.

The foregoing considerations illustrate the possibilities of the preservation of such an ancient saga, and thus make it easier to accept its essential historicity, especially since all the attempts to show that it was a late propagandist leaflet which took its basic facts from some cuneiform source have broken down. The writer has elsewhere presented the materials on which he based his dating in the seventeenth century. Now, however, it seems much more probable that the episode under consideration should be dated about 1800 B. C., or a little later, for the following reasons. A renewed study of the Chedorlaomer tablets has convinced me that they should be dated in the Cossaean period (the composition, not the copy), but refer to events which took place earlier. Not a single Cossaean is mentioned, though several princes with Babylonian names, one Elamite and one Manda are referred to. The Babylonian names are intermediate between the Early Babylonian and the Middle Babylonian period.¹⁷³ Tukulti-Bēlit-ilāni ruled in Babylon, but is not mentioned on any dynastic list, so can most easily be referred to the chaotic period which intervened between the end of the First Dynasty and the beginning of the Third (1870-1740 B. C.).¹⁷⁴ Ibi-Tutu, another of the tyrants

I, 69, n. 2. Originally, however, the name *Malki-sedeq* was presumably parallel in formation to *Adōnī-sedeq*, name of a later king of Jerusalem, and means "Sedeq (Sydyk) is my King" or the like.

¹⁷³ The name *Arad-Ekua* is hard to date; *Ibi-Tutu* is characteristically Old Babylonian, like all names beginning with the element *ibi*; *Tukulti-Bēlit-ilāni* (written *BAD-MAH-AN-MES*) is just as characteristically late second millennium, when names beginning with *tukulti* came into use generally, being unknown in Old Babylonian.

¹⁷⁴ For years there has been a debate between the chronological school which dated the First Dynasty of Babylon about 2225-1925, following Kugler's first astronomical calculation, and the other which reduced the date by nearly two centuries (Weidner: 2057-1758; Kugler's later view: 2049-1750). The writer has written several papers in defense of the first view (RA XVIII, 83-94; JPOS II, 114 f.; JSOR VIII, 51-9). Now, however, owing to the calculations of Fotheringham (see Langdon, Weld-Blundell Collection, Vol. II, pp. I-III), confirmed by Schnabel (see his brilliant paper ZA, 1925, 109-122), the date must be corrected to 2160-1870 B. C., with an overwhelming evidence in its favor. None of the contentions of the writer are affected by this result, which, although not entirely in favor of either side, is fatal to the historical reconstructions of the "low" chronologists. Mesopotamian chronology is now on a

whose iniquity compelled Marduk to call on Kudur-Lahamal of Elam in order to punish him, is expressly said to come from the Sea Lands and to settle in Northern Babylonia, in an abode which was not his (*irmā lā šubatsu*).¹⁷⁵ Since it was precisely during this age that the Sea Lands furnished the only rulers who could be regarded by later ages as legitimate, the provenance of Ibī-Tutu is significant. There is no place for a man like Ibī-Tutu in the time of the Cossaean kings, when the Sea Lands were ruled by the Cossaean dynasty of Ulam-Buriaš. Still less is there room for Tukultī-Bēlit-ilāni as king of Babylon in the Cossaean age. No new light on Kudur-Lahamal king of Elam has appeared, but it is more likely that he ruled shortly before Hubanummena and Untaš-GAL than shortly after them. There can be no doubt that Elam reached the summit of her power during this general age, but the exact course of her development is quite uncertain. With regard to Amraphel, or Amurru-'pl, king of Ḫana-Sangar, the writer has also nothing new to offer. The investigations of Thureau-Dangin and Dhorme at Tirqa'-Iṣārah have thrown new light on the history of Ḫana.¹⁷⁶ The kings are now known to have ruled in the order Iṣarlim, Kaštiliaš, Šunuhrammu, Ammibail, with Hammurabi either in the third or the fifth place. The names of Kaštiliaš and Kudurru, with the gods Bugaš and Duzagaš show that Ḫana was strongly under Cossaean influence, but whether before or after the beginning of the Third Dynasty of Babylon remains uncertain. The language, script and proper names of the Ḫana tablets are characteristic of the First Dynasty period, while the system of year-dates points in the same direction. Moreover, these kings preceded the age of Ilu-iqīša and Tukultī-Mēr, who reigned between the seventeenth and the fourteenth centuries B. C. At all events, there can no longer be any doubt that the height of Ḫana's power was attained after the fall of the First Dynasty, whose traditions seem to have been kept up there, and before the sixteenth century, so we have a scope of three centuries for Amraphel king of Shinar. A serious difficulty with my former date of about 1675 was that the Hyksos were then in control of Palestine. If we carry the date back to the beginning of the preceding century, when the Twelfth Dynasty was being replaced with the weak Thirteenth, the Palestinian situation becomes much easier, since Mesopotamian aggression would not affect Egyptian interests in Asia. Additional arguments for the earlier date come readily to mind, but a fuller discussion must be reserved for a more suitable place.

If the catastrophe took place shortly afterwards, but before 1750 B. C., the

sound foundation back to about 2408 B. C., when the Third Dynasty of Ur began, whereas Egyptian chronology is only fixed back to 2000 B. C.

¹⁷⁵ Chedorlaomer Tablet II, rev., 24-9.

¹⁷⁶ Breasted, *The Origins of Civilization*, pp. 432 (*Scientific Monthly*, Oct. 1919).

evidence of the pottery comes to assist us. As pointed out above, the pottery from Bâb ed-Drâ' is all older than the eighteenth century B. C., at the latest, since none of the characteristic Middle Bronze or Hyksos types appear, and everything is "First Semitic." Some of the pottery, however, comes relatively late in this period, so there is nothing against its being dated as low as the nineteenth century B. C. It is at least curious that the pottery date coincides so well with our conclusions from other premises. For all these reasons, then, the date we have fixed for the catastrophe of Sodom and Gomorrah, about the early part of the eighteenth century B. C., seems to be exceedingly probable.

The exact nature of the catastrophe is harder to determine than its approximate date. The once-popular volcanic theory has had to be given up because of the absence of volcanic phenomena in this part of the Ghôr. It is quite possible to invent an explanation which will suit the traditional description of flaming sulphur falling from the sky on the doomed towns. For instance, one may assume that there was a great earthquake, accompanying a faulting process which impinged on strata of bitumen and sulphur, forcing them in burning columns into the air. It is true that earthquakes and subsidences of the earth are known in this region, as we have seen in the Kerak earthquake, with its concomitant depression of a section of the Dead Sea floor. It is also true that strata of asphalt or bitumen and deposits of sulphur do exist in the southern part of the Dead Sea basin. Just what happened, however, can no longer be definitely established. In any case, there was a great convulsion of nature which destroyed the towns of the Southern Ghôr, and made an ineffaceable impression upon the survivors. The mysterious Valley of Siddim, which presumably lay between the Lisân and the western coast, or south of this split, was submerged, and the plain on which the Cities of the Plain were situated has since been almost completely covered by the advancing waters of the Sea. The Moabites seem to have begun their mythical history with the submergence of the Cities of the Plain, just as the Hebrews began theirs with the Great Flood.¹⁷⁷ Ever afterwards the Southern Ghôr was shunned by both races, to whom it was a terrible memorial of human wickedness and the wrath of an angry God.

We have now completed our brief summary of the data regarding the occupation of the Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age. What may we conclude from our materials? The first striking result is the great antiquity at which most of the sites which we have studied were occupied. Jericho and Beth-shan were certainly founded before 3000 B. C. and the same antiquity may safely be claimed for a high proportion of the unexcavated mounds. It would seem,

¹⁷⁷ This is the view of most recent commentators of Genesis, led by the striking parallelism between the accounts of Noah and Lot: escape from catastrophe which was regarded as universal; drunkenness and sexual aberration.

moreover, that all the Bronze Age sites in the Jordan Valley were already settled before the end of the third millennium, while most of them probably date back to the first half of this millennium, at least. When we turn to the rest of Palestine we find a strikingly different situation. The towns of the hill-country in the Bronze Age were few and far between, relatively speaking. The vast majority of the ancient sites in the mountains were not occupied until the Late Bronze or Early Iron. Jerusalem, owing to its unusually favorable position and strategic situation, was one of the first points fortified. The work of Parker, Vincent, Macalister and Duncan has proven that there was a settlement there in the aeneolithic period, towards the beginning of the third millennium, or even earlier. If we turn to the Shephelah and the Coastal Plain, we note that the Early Bronze deposits are generally thin, and do not suggest an intensive occupation before about 2500 B. C., though occupation of a sort there may have been. Ports like Ashkelon and Dor, the only ones so far investigated, do not exhibit strata older than the Middle Bronze, though sections have been cut down to virgin soil. It is true, however, that further work may reveal an older core in the center of the mounds. The mounds along the high-road north from Egypt to Syria are generally older, if we may judge from their height, and in the case of Tell el-Hesi from the results of excavations. At best, however, they do not seem to have been properly fortified and organized as towns before the early part of the third millennium. In the Plain of Esdraelon we find conditions approximating those in the Jordan Valley. Megiddo, for example, is probably as old as any mound in the Jordan Valley, and its foundation seems to date back into the end of the fourth millennium.

It thus appears that the Jordan Valley was the first part of Palestine to be intensively developed, and that in spite of its heat and mosquito-breeding swamps. The reason for this seeming anomaly is evidently that the Jordan Valley was first selected because of its abundant water and cultivable plains. The latter, however, will not yield crops without irrigation, which must, therefore, have been practiced along prevailing ancient oriental lines. This irrigation was certainly more efficient and well-organized than modern irrigation in these regions, since the results of modern efforts barely suffice for the sparse population of Bedawîn and African peasants, while a large number of populous towns had to be supported in the Bronze Age. Thorough irrigation also carried with it necessarily the draining of the marshes, as a result of which malaria would automatically disappear more or less entirely, just as it has in properly irrigated districts of Egypt, whereas in modern Mesopotamia, where the old irrigation system has been allowed to fall into ruins, malaria is a curse. This explanation of the existence of flourishing ancient towns in districts now malaria-ridden is much more rational than the extraordinary

attempt to deny the existence of this disease in ancient times. This is no more reasonable from a biological point of view than the similar theory of the late origin of syphilis is from the standpoint of the history of medicine. It is, of course, quite true that all these plagues are subject to marked cycles of virulence, and that certain populations or races become immune, while others are easily attacked, but there can be no doubt that efficient irrigation has a great deal to do with the elimination of the malaria menace. The conquest by man of virgin swamps and forests has always resulted in the decline or disappearance of malaria, just as has been the case in Egypt and in the Western States of America.

On the other hand, man could not conquer the enervating and debilitating heat of the Jordan Valley, which discouraged energy and achievement, while encouraging indolence and luxury. The sexual immorality of the dwellers in the Jordan Valley has always been notorious, from the days of Sodom, Gomorrah and Jericho to the present time. So long as the highlands were covered with bush or forest, and cisterns for catching and holding rain-water had not come into use, the Jordan Valley was almost the only part of the country suited to support a sedentary population. Once the hill-country had been cleared and villages had been established all over it, provided with water from cisterns, the Jordan Valley was abandoned, and served as convenient grazing ground for the flocks of the highland villages, or was planted by them to grain, which was harvested and stored in these villages. The Palestinian peasant knows the greater comfort and health which are the lot of villages situated on the hills, and will not hastily sacrifice them to mere convenience. During the patriarchal period, according to Hebrew traditions, nomadic tribes wandered freely over the hill-country, while the Canaanites held the Jordan Valley and the Coastal Plain. As the writer has pointed out elsewhere, this tradition is entirely in accord with archaeological fact. The situation naturally forced the Canaanites to fortify their towns strongly, in order to resist the continual razzias to which they were exposed from the hills. As the numbers and organization of the Hebrew tribesmen increased, it became harder and harder to resist them, and town after town fell into their hands during the Late Bronze and beginning of the Early Iron. A few of these towns, especially in the north, like Laish and Chinnereth, were occupied by the conquerors. Nearly all the towns in the Jordan Valley between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea were abandoned, though a very few, like Succoth and Abel-meholah, were still inhabited, and Jericho was reoccupied after lying desolate for centuries. It is striking that wherever a Canaanite town was dependent for its prosperity upon a well-organized system of irrigation, like Yanô'am, it was not reoccupied. The Hebrews knew nothing of irrigation, and were not interested in keeping up the old intensive methods of cultivation, when the

plain could be planted to grain if not too marshy, or left to shepherds in case it was too wet for grain.

It has been suggested that the Jordan Valley was abandoned simply because of the destruction of the towns by the Hebrews. This explanation is too simple, since most of these towns had certainly been destroyed often before, as in the case of Jericho. Moreover, the ceramic evidence proves conclusively that they were not all overthrown at the same time, but fell, one after another, through a period of nearly a thousand years, from Beth-yerah to Hammath. Our explanation, that the settlement of the adjoining hill-country during this period made the continued occupation of the Jordan Valley unnecessary and undesirable from the standpoint of tribes unused to the terrific heat of the lowlands, is much more logical and natural. The attitude of the Hebrews is dramatically expressed in the story of Abram and Lot.

How may we explain the origin of the irrigation culture of the Jordan Valley? To this question there seems but one reply: this culture arose under the same influence as those which created the irrigation culture of Egypt and Mesopotamia. As part of the Egypto-Mesopotamian cultural center, it was only to be expected that similar cultures should spring up in all likely places. In Syria the Orontes Valley, still little known archaeologically, and in Palestine the Jordan Valley adapted themselves to the development of irrigation on an extensive scale. It should be emphasized that both in Egypt and in Mesopotamia the development of organized states, to whose capacity for direction the great achievements of the earliest civilization were due, was the result of the necessity for coördinating the struggle with the river-floods, the maintenance of barrages and canals, and the adjustment of disputes regarding water-rights. "One of the most powerful influences toward unity and organized development in a rainless climate like that of Egypt, was the necessity of creating an ever more complicated irrigation system. To maintain such a system, to keep each of its long canals free from obstruction, and to control the supply of water, required the coöperation of large groups of communities, created a consciousness of community of interest and a willingness to submit to a central authority in control of the whole."¹⁷⁸ The importance in the life of the land which was assumed by irrigation is illustrated by the canal-digging ceremony figured in a relief of a votive mace-head of the "Scorpion," one of the latest predynastic rulers of Upper Egypt. Great drainage and irrigation works are also ascribed to Menes, the head of the First Dynasty. If we turn to Babylonia we find an even greater importance attached to canal-building and irrigation, since the irregularity of the inundations in Mesopotamia is such that the barrages must be larger and stronger, while the extent of the

¹⁷⁸ Breasted, *The Origins of Civilization*, p. 432 (*Scientific Monthly*, Oct. 1919).

land capable of being irrigated is so great that the canals must be much longer and better maintained. All through Babylonian history canal-digging was the first and most important duty of the king, but the emphasis laid upon royal control of irrigation was much greater in the earliest period, when royal inscriptions and temple rituals are largely devoted to the ever-present theme of irrigation. As Witzel has recently shown, the Ninurta myth with its conflict between the god and the dragon refers primarily to the prehistoric war against the river-flood, and its subjugation to the service of man.¹⁷⁸

There is no difficulty whatever in our view of a direct connexion between the irrigation cultures of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Syria. It is becoming increasingly clear that the civilization of all Southwestern Asia and North-eastern Africa in the aeneolithic age was essentially homogeneous, despite all local tendencies and independent developments. The attempts to explain this fact by assuming a Mesopotamian occupation of Egypt or an Asiatic immigration into Egypt shortly before the First Dynasty are extremely unlikely. It is much better to lay emphasis upon the fluidity of population at the end of the neolithic, which made wholesale migrations and interchanges of peoples not only possible, but even usual. Man had not begun to depend mainly upon agriculture as a means of subsistence, and the well-advanced art of animal husbandry gave a tremendous impetus to migration, which, in fact, became a vital necessity, owing to the shifting of pastures. Besides the fluidity of population, there is another almost equal factor to be considered: the relative plasticity of the nascent civilizations of the Near East, which had not begun to crystallize. Crystallization took place in Egypt during the first three dynasties, while in Mesopotamia it may be said to have occurred in the Dynasty of Accad, though it never went so far or assumed such stereotyped forms in Mesopotamia as in Egypt. Under conditions of plasticity the constant intercourse which undoubtedly existed between the peoples of the ancient world inevitably led to a certain transfusion of culture, as the writer has elsewhere maintained. This is the explanation of the vastly greater similarity between Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilizations at the dawn of history than at any later period.

It is at the present stage idle to ask whether the early culture of the Jordan Valley was more influenced by Egypt or Mesopotamia. It may perhaps be safe to predict that influences from the two countries will be found nearly balanced, at least for the early period under consideration. On the other hand, it would be rather absurd to suggest, as a positive alternative, a higher antiquity for the culture of the Jordan Valley than for that of the Nile and Euphrates, both of which have far larger and richer valleys, as well as superior

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Witzel, *Der Drachenkämpfer Ninib* (*Keilinschriftliche Studien*, no. 2).

climates. The present writer does believe, however, that the foundation of the oldest towns in the Jordan Valley goes back to nearly the same age as that which witnessed the birth of the great cities of Egypt and Mesopotamia. The exact date of the foundation of the latter cannot yet be determined, but may be placed in the first half of the fourth millennium B. C., in all probability. Babylonian chronology is now apparently fixed with only a small margin of error, if any, to the beginning of the Ur Dynasty (Ur-Nammu and Sulgi), B. C. 2408.¹⁸⁰ The date of the beginning of the Dynasty of Accad is not certain, since our confidence in the early dynastic lists has been greatly shaken by the latest discoveries, but may safely be placed between 2875 and 2700 B. C., the extreme maximum and minimum dates. Weidner's latest discoveries regarding the contemporaneity of the Dynasties of Kiš, Erech and Accad, assumed by the dynastic lists to be successive, shows that we must depend largely upon the monuments for our chronology of the pre-Sargonic age. According to the monuments alone, Ur-Nina of Lagaš need not be placed more than two centuries before Sargon's death, or a century and a half before his accession. Before Ur-Nina all is obscure, and the earliest ruler yet known from the monuments, A-anni-padda son of Mes-anni-padda of Ur, may have ruled in the third quarter of the fourth millennium, though we may equally well place him in the last quarter (3200-3100 B. C.). To this general age the oldest monuments found at Aššur, Kiš, Šuruppak, Lagaš and Tell el-'Obeid may be referred, while the foundation of the towns themselves must be at least half a millennium older in most cases, because an anepigraphic stratum, sometimes of considerable thickness, precedes the pre-Sargonic level. Even at Susa, where the thickness of the débris is quite extraordinary, there is no reason to go beyond the beginning of the fourth millennium for the first stratum.

The writer hesitates to touch on the question of Egyptian chronology, not because of any uncertainty in his views, but because he is conscious of maintaining a heretical position, which perhaps ought not to be presented at all without complete defense of apparently weak points in the line. Yet this is not the place for such a discussion; here we are only interested in securing a definite point of view concerning the chronological relation of the irrigation culture of the Jordan Valley to that of neighboring foci of civilization. To the Palestinian archaeologist of today the current Egyptian chronology is monstrous. He cannot bring himself to believe that Egypt remained in proud aloofness for the early centuries of her civilized history, or that Palestine continued in a state of neolithic barbarism, while Egypt was colonizing Byblos and invading Sinai, and active transfusion of culture was taking place between

¹⁸⁰ Cf. note 174, above.

Egypt and Mesopotamia. Vincent has proved that there was a striking similarity between Early Bronze pottery found at Jerusalem and elsewhere, and early dynastic Egyptian ware.¹⁸¹ This similarity is no less striking than the similarity which also exists, as Vincent has shown, between early pottery in Palestine and Mesopotamia.¹⁸² Yet we cannot possibly raise our Palestinian dates so as to harmonize with any current system of Egyptian chronology. The writer's dates, presented in part above, average considerably higher than the dates hitherto popular among Palestinian archaeologists, though they are in accord with the views of Père Vincent.¹⁸³

Our views on the subject of Egyptian chronology are based primarily on the study of the Palermo Stone and its Cairo pendant. New material has also become available for the chronology of the Fourth Dynasty and the obscure period between the Old and Middle Empires, which has hitherto been prolonged beyond reason by the very scholars who insist the most strongly, like Borchardt, on drastic curtailment of the second dark age between the Middle and Late Empires. Calendaric and astronomical considerations seem to confirm the results, which are, therefore, not simply baseless innovations, however strange they may appear to some scholars, who are ignorant of the attitude of some of the foremost Egyptologists to this question. On the basis of a new reconstruction of the Palermo Stone¹⁸⁴ we obtain a total of about 371 years for the first three dynasties. The Fourth and Fifth Dynasties seem to have lasted about 100¹⁸⁵ and 125¹⁸⁶ years, respectively, while the following Memphite dynasties ruled for 180 years. The dark period from the close of Pharaoh II's active life to the reunion of Upper and Lower Egypt under *Mnfw-htpw* III may be estimated as covering about a century, or, in other

¹⁸¹ RB 1912, 544 f. Contrast Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery of Near East*, I, p. 102, n. 2.

¹⁸² *La peinture céramique palestinienne* (*Syria*, 1924, 81-107, 186-202, 294-315).

¹⁸³ *Syria*, 1924, p. 87.

¹⁸⁴ Following Daressy, I have fixed the right edge of the original slab (obverse) by calculating the year-compartments of *Snfrw*. The left edge is fixed a little (c. 3-4 years) beyond where Borchardt placed it, on the basis of a comparison of the material evidence of register II with the evidence from the Turin Papyrus (corrected slightly in one place by the Palermo Stone) for the length of the Third Dynasty in register V, which coincide exactly. The results are strikingly harmonious, besides agreeing with the indications of the reverse and the Fifth Dynasty chronology of the Turin Papyrus.

¹⁸⁵ That is: *Snfrw*, 24 (=Turin); Cheops, 23 (=Turin); *Ddf-R'*, 8 (=Turin); Chephren, 24 (Daressy); Mycerinus, 18 (Turin); *Sp4s-k3f*, 4 (Turin)—total 101 years.

¹⁸⁶ A minimum of 120 years for the kings of the Fifth Dynasty is certain. The only really doubtful reign is that of *Nicr-R'*, who is generally said to have ruled at least thirty years because of his having celebrated the *hb-kd* jubilee. Now, however, it is known that a number kings who ruled less than thirty years celebrated this festival, which may have been dated from the definite appointment as crown-prince.

words, the presumed duration of the Heracleopolitan Dynasty, which was certainly contemporaneous with the Memphite and Theban kingdoms. There are still several uncertain periods, which allow a scope of a century or so for the date of Menes—provided we assume the essential accuracy of the reconstruction of the Palermo Stone and of our reduction of the length of the first obscure period. Following Borchardt's ingenious demonstration of the connexion of the cyclic feast celebrated in the ninth year of Athothis with the Sothic Cycle,¹⁸⁷ but placing the feast in question an entire Sothic Cycle later, one may plausibly date Menes about 2935 B. C. Assuming that Athothis actually celebrated the introduction of this Sothic Cycle, and not the date of the first discrepancy of a month, as suggested by Borchardt, we may date Menes to 2815 B. C. In any case, the reconstruction of the chronology on the basis of the monumental material, without calendaric props, brings us to the approximate date of 3000-2800 B. C. for Menes, and roughly to about 3000 B. C. for the first written monuments from Upper Egypt. There is no direct evidence bearing on the period at which the oldest cities of Egypt were founded, but it must have been long before, because of the long lines of rulers known to have flourished both in Upper and in Lower Egypt before the definitive union of Egypt under Menes. A date early in the fourth millennium for the beginnings of organized city life in Egypt can hardly be far from the truth.

Our conclusion on the basis of these chronological data is, therefore, that the oldest fortified towns in Palestine, those of the Jordan Valley, were founded under the influence of the irrigation culture of the Nile and Euphrates Valleys, but a few centuries later than the commencement of town-building in the older and richer civilizations. It would be extremely interesting to learn more about the civilization of the Jordan Valley in the third millennium. So far no excavations in Palestinian mounds have really reached strata of the third millennium or earlier, and not a single necropolis of this antiquity has been dug, even in part. We are, accordingly, still in the dark as to whether writing was known in the third millennium or not, or whether a provincial art had begun to develop. Without doubt we have some great surprises in store for us.

The ethnic character of the early population of the Jordan Valley may have been very mixed, but there can be no question that the ruling language was Canaanite Semitic. This we know from the names of the oldest towns, such as *Bêt-yerah*, *Bêt-še'an*, *Rehôb*, *Yerehô*, etc. The last name is especially characteristic, since the ending in *ô* may be set down as typically Canaanite, as distinguished from Amorite, Aramaean and Accadian. There seems no

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Borchardt, *Die Annalen und die zeitliche Festlegung des Alten Reiches*, pp. 51 ff.

reason to doubt that the Canaanite Semites were the first to build towns in the Jordan Valley, toward the close of the fourth millennium. At the same time, however, the hill-country may have been occupied by highlanders of Alpine or other stock, like the Troglodyte race of Gezer. Further excavations will doubtless throw a great deal of light upon this early Canaanite culture, and especially its religion. The fundamental element in the latter may have been adoration of the life-giving numen or numina of the Jordan, associated inseparably with lunar mythology. The importance of the moon cult may safely be inferred from the names *Bêt-yerah* and *Yerehô*, as well as from certain other indications.¹⁸⁸ We must investigate this early civilization of Palestine, which arose in the Jordan Valley, with constant appreciation of the light which may be shed through it upon the development of culture and religion in the land of Israel and Judah.

¹⁸⁸ That the worship of the god Sin (not Sin; there is no connexion between his name and that of Sinai) was known in the Ghôr appears from the name *Sin-ab*, belonging to the king of Admah, Gen. 14: 2. The name is probably Amorite: *Sin-abum*, "Sin is Father" (the spelling with *š* is Canaanite-Hebrew). It may be added that the cult of the river Jordan (which doubtless dates back to the most primitive times) was probably associated even more closely with lunar mythology than that of the Nile and Euphrates, for which cf. JAOS XXXIX, 70 ff., 78 f., 86 ff. This evidence might be very considerably extended by material which the writer has collected, but not published.

A NEW FACTOR IN THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT EAST

EDWARD CHIERA AND EPHRAIM A. SPEISER

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

In the spring of the year 1925 excavations were conducted on a small tell in the neighborhood of Viran Shehr about 10 miles South-West of Kerkuk. The area uncovered proved to be a part of a larger ancient city known as *Nuzi*. The expedition was a joint undertaking of Iraq Museum and of the American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad. Dr. Chiera, the Annual Professor of the School for the year 1924-5 was in charge of the excavation.

The material brought to light consists of over a thousand cuneiform tablets, a large quantity of pottery and some bronze implements. A general description of the site explored has been given in a recent number of the *BULLETIN* of the Schools of Oriental Research. A detailed presentation must be reserved for a special volume.

Work on the tablets was begun immediately after they arrived here from Baghdad. These valuable documents are, unfortunately, rather poorly preserved. In the first place, the tablets are all of unbaked clay which, in addition, is not always of a good quality. It would often crumble in the hands of the Arabs who were unable at times to distinguish the clay tablets from the surrounding dirt. Moreover, the house in which they were found had been destroyed by fire. The roof had caved in crushing underneath it the jars in which the tablets were kept. And at length worms—one is almost tempted to say the original "bookworms"—did not have the refinement to discriminate between the inscribed clay and the plain dirt, frequently boring their way through the body of the tablets. All of which, needless to say, does not make decipherment an easy and attractive task. However, when the dirt is cleaned away the documents appear much more legible than it would seem likely at first. As is natural in a find of this size, there is usually a number of records belonging to the same general type. A well preserved tablet might thus furnish the clue to the reading of some troublesome lines or even for the supplying of minor gaps in difficult and damaged tablets.

The material represents the private archives of a prominent family. The records are composed in a dialect of Accadian. But even a superficial reading of the tablets reveals immediately that the language of the documents was not the mother tongue of the people who had them written. The dialect of the tablets from *Nuzi* betrays complete indifference to some of the most fundamental principles of the Accadian language. The phonology points unmistakably to a non-Semitic substratum. One might say that the Nuzians

spoke their Accadian with hopelessly foreign throats.¹ Many of the technical terms employed in the tablets are obviously taken over from another, unrelated language.² And lastly, the overwhelming majority of the proper names belongs to a people that, linguistically at least, could have nothing in common with the Semitic population of Mesopotamia.

What then was the original language of the *Nuzians*? Do the proper names represent an entirely new language or are they to be assigned to one of the numerous dialects known to have been in use at one time or another in this eminently polyglot section of the Ancient East? For it is only recently that we have come to appreciate the value of the Biblical account which places the tower of Babel in Mesopotamia. But the primordial confusion said to have been brought about by the builders of the ill-fated structure still seems to attach to many of the problems connected with the study of the languages and peoples of the Near East. The racial and linguistic affinities of the Sumerians and the Elamites, the Cassites and the people of Gutium, the Mitanni and the people of Urartu;³ the interrelationship of the Assyrians and their Cappadocian colonies, of the Babylonians and the Western Semites: and lastly the classification of the numerous dialects and peoples made known through the inscriptions of Boghaz Keui;⁴ these are but a few of a truly imposing array of problems for the historian and philologist alike.⁵

¹ This is true of nearly all Accadian records composed in non-Semitic countries or by non-Semitic peoples. Cf. especially the Cappadocian inscriptions (literature in Contenau, *Trente tablettes cappadociennes*, Paris 1919, pp. III f., and Julius Lewy, *Studien zu den altassyrischen Texten aus Kappadokien*, Berlin 1922, p. 2, further the Accadian treaties from the archives of Boghaz Keui in Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasiens*, Boghazköl-Studien 8-9, Berlin 1923).

² Cf. the "Mitanni" glosses in the letter from *Tunip*, Messerschmidt, *MVAG*, 1899, 4, pp. 119-121.

³ It is quite likely that some of the smaller tribes of Mesopotamia had languages and dialects of their own. But it will take more than a handful of proper names to prove the existence of a new language. The argument of Landsberger that the people of *Harshi*, *Humurti*, and *Kimash* spoke hitherto unidentified languages is for that reason inconclusive. See his otherwise excellent article "Über die Völker Vorderasiens im dritten Jahrtausend," *Z.A.*, 35, 230.

⁴ Hrozny, *Über die Völker und Sprachen des alten Chatti-Landes*, Bogh. St. 5, Leipzig 1920; Forrer, "Die Inschriften und Sprachen des Hatti-Reiches," *ZDMG*, 76, 174 ff.

⁵ For other more recent discussions of the ethnic and linguistic problems of the ancient Near East see Hugo Winckler, "Suri," *OLZ*, 1907, 281 ff., "Die Arier in den Urkunden von Boghazköl" *OLZ*, 1910, 292 ff., *Vorderasien im zweiten Jahrtausend*, *MVAG*, 1913, 4; Ungnad, "Zur Geschichte der Nachbarstaaten Babyloniens" zur Zeit der Hammurapi Dynastie, *BA*, VI, 5, pp. 1 ff.; Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, v. 2, 3 ed. 433 ff.; Landsberger, op. cit.; Lewy, "Zur Geschichte Assyriens und Kleinasiens im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend" *OLZ*, 1923, 533 ff. For the bearing of the new studies

In the first days of our work on the Nuzi tablets it was noticed that certain names of cities appeared both with and without a final element, usually written *wa*. There could be little doubt that we had here a case ending or its equivalent. The ending *wa* is known from the Mitanni letter and from the *Hurri* sections of the Boghazkeui inscriptions.⁶ In the former it has been taken as a locative⁷ whereas the Hurrites seem to have employed it as a genitive.⁸ Since the above two languages are admittedly very closely related, if not indeed actually identical,⁹ the new tablets did not appear to represent a dialect which would have to be considered as isolated.

A further examination has confirmed our first and tentative assumption that we were dealing with a near relative of the *Hurri*-Mitanni group. Names similar to or even identical with those of the Mitanni letter have been found in the process of gradual decipherment of the material.¹⁰ The unusually large number of theoforic names with *Teshup* points unmistakably in the same general direction. And lastly, a number of grammatical and etymological details, a discussion of which must be reserved for a special volume, is another important link in the long chain of evidence that enables us to establish the linguistic affiliations of the *Nuzians* beyond the possibility of dispute.

Politically the district was part of the country of *Arrapha*.¹¹ The tablet which furnishes us with this valuable bit of information also mentions *Hanigalbat* in a context which implies that the two states were at that time in an intimate relationship with one another. *Hanigalbat* is best defined as a geographical name for the country occupied by the empire of the Mitanni during the Amarna period.¹² *Arrapha* figures in our tablets as a rather near

on the pre-Biblical history of Palestine cf. Burney, *The Book of Judges*, (London 1918) pp. LV-CXVIII.

⁶ For the reading *Hurri* instead of *Harri* see Ungnad ZA, 35, p. 133, n. 1, and ZA, 36, p. 101, n. 1. Lewy (ZA, 35, p. 145, n. 4) calls attention to the fact that the name of the people may have been preserved in the name of the city *Hu-ur-ra* occurring in KAH I 5, 1 ff. To this may be added the name of the god *Hu-ur-ra* found in the Mitanni treatise KBo I, 1 Rs. 41.

⁷ See Messerschmidt, *loc. cit.* p. 97; Bork, *Die Mitannisprache*, 46.

⁸ Forrer, *op. cit.* 224.

⁹ Cf. the article of Johannes Friedrich on "Kleinasiatische Sprachen," 14 in Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* v. I, and Ungnad, ZA, 35, 133.

¹⁰ For a study of the "Mitanni" proper names see especially Ungnad BA, VI. 5. 8 ff., and Gustaf, OLZ, 1912, pp. 241 ff., 300 ff., 350 ff.

¹¹ On the situation of *Arrapha* cf. Albright, JAOS, 45, 209 ff.

¹² Cf. Schachermeyer, "Zur geographischen Lage von Mitanni und Hanigalbat," Festschrift Lehmann-Haupt (1921) pp. 188-193. In the annals of the first millennium Hanigalbat is sometimes identified with the district of *Melitene*, West of the Upper Euphrates. This is, according to Schachermeyer, due to the fact that when

neighbor of *Hanigalbat*. Evidently, therefore, the center of gravity of the latter country was, at least for the time in question, nearer to the Tigris than to the Euphrates. Now this corresponds precisely with what we know about the geographical position of Mitanni. The friendly relations of the two states are especially interesting since, as we have seen, the two countries were also closely connected linguistically.¹³

It has been indicated previously that there is also no demonstrable difference between the languages of the Mitanni and of the Hurri if we are to judge from the material now extant. The land of the Hurri is generally sought in Armenia.¹⁴ The language of the Vannic inscriptions appears to have been a younger branch of the same linguistic group although we must reserve final judgment on the subject until the entire material has been published.¹⁵ An important linguistic group is thus revealed to have covered the large area extending from Armenia down South to Mesopotamia, and from there to the lands East of the Tigris. What was until recently the isolated people of Mitanni, confined for the most part to Northern Mesopotamia now appears as but one member of an unexpectedly large family whose expanse alone would argue a profound influence upon the ancient history and civilization of the Near East. Fortunately, we are not left here entirely to conjecture.

after the collapse of the Mitanni empire, the population of that country sought refuge in *Melitene*, the name of their country followed the unfortunate exiles.

¹³ The name *Hanigalbat* is also written *Haligalbat* and *Hanagalbat*, which is undoubtedly due to the phonetic peculiarities of the language to which the name belongs. Cf. Forrer, *op. cit.* 236, and Weidner, Bogh. St. 6. 77 n. 1. The country *Hani* to which the foreign conquerors of Babylon who put an end to the reign of the First Dynasty carried the images of *Marduk* and his consort *Sarpanit* is, no doubt, an abbreviation of *Hanigalbat*. It may be further connected with the *Hana* on the Middle Euphrates, cf. Meyer, *op. cit.* 454. For the nationality of those early conquerors of Babylon this fact is of the greatest importance. We have seen that *Hanigalbat* is later the center of the Mitanni empire. It is also generally admitted that the foreign invasion in question was due to the same people who founded that empire (Winckler *MVAG*, 1913, 4. 35). The Babylonians speak of them as the *Hatti*, and scholars have been calling the same ethnic group Teshup-Hittites. This term is, strictly speaking, not as incorrect as it is apt to be misleading. Now that we have reserved the term "Hittite" for the language (and people) of the bulk of the inscriptions from Boghaz-keui (quite erroneously, as it is now generally admitted), we must not confuse with that group the "Mitanni" and their relatives. To the Babylonians and Assyrians *Hatti* was a very general term. Even the inhabitants of Asdod are called "faithless *Hatti*" by Sargon (Winckler *ibid.* 42). The Bible uses the term "Hittite" in the same general sense (cf. Ungnad, *Kulturfragen* 1. 7). For a more correct name for the Teshup-Hittites see below.

¹⁴ See Ungnad, *ZA*, 36. 101 ff.

¹⁵ Here too the god *Teshup* plays a very important part, being second only to the national god *Haldi* (cf. Winckler, *op. cit.* 68).

But before we proceed with the discussion it is essential to settle the problem of uniform terminology. Until the discovery of the Hurri material the language of the letter of Tushratta was quite naturally referred to as Mitanni. However, recent investigations have brought out the fact that the term may only be correctly applied to the empire which developed in the ancient land of Hanigalbat, but which may have been itself originally a part of the Greater Hurri state.¹⁶ The people of Mitanni were for the most part Hurrites with whose language the dialect of Mitanni was, as we have seen, all but identical. Indeed, the name Mitanni may have been contributed by the foreign, Indo-European ruling class about which more will be said later. As a common designation for the language of the Mitanni letter and of the related proper names scholars have, therefore, been employing of late the name "Subarean," a term originally suggested by Jensen and resuscitated recently by Ungnad.¹⁷ It can be shown, however, that this designation is a misnomer far more serious than Mitanni. The "Shubartu" of the earlier cuneiform inscriptions is a rather elastic geographical term variously applied to the mountainous districts of Northern Mesopotamia.¹⁸ The name "Shubaru" for the people of those lands is apparently a later abstraction from the name of the land modelled by proportional analogy on some such pair of terms as *Elamtu* and *Elamu*. Such districts as that of Kerkuk from which the bulk of the published "Subarean" names is known to have come are not even included in the term "Shubartu."¹⁹ The few lexicographical references to the so-called "Subarean" words, (introduced by the formula *ina SU*) contain in reality some perfectly good Assyrian expressions. This fact is noted by Jensen²⁰ himself although it is curiously overlooked by those who have made use of Jensen's material. As result we get some startling philological revelations which it is most difficult to take seriously.²¹ In addition we know that the

¹⁶ This is a necessary inference from the Mitanni treaty, cf. Winckler, *op. cit.* 63 ff., Weidner, *Bogh. St.* 8. 9 n. 6.

¹⁷ *Kulturfragen* 1, 5.

¹⁸ Landsberger, *op. cit.* 228, and Winckler, *OLZ*, 1907. 281 ff.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Hammurabi was the first one to introduce the term *Shubartu* as a common designation for the numerous principalities of Northern Mesopotamia instead of calling each by its own name (*ibid.* 230-231).

²⁰ *Z.A.* 6. 60. n. 1.

²¹ Cf. e. g., the chapter on "The Sumerian Revival" (XII) in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, v. I (1923), where the author does not know at this late date that the "Mitanni" and Hittite languages are not to be confused with one another (p. 452). He goes even further and gives Hittite credentials to the word *pitqu* 'son, child' which is at best a dialectic form of the good Accadian word *pitēqu* (cf. Delitzsch, *HVB* 390 b, and 555 a). The dynasty of Gutium may also be of Hittite origin according to the same writer (*ibid.* 670). Such irresponsible philological speculations are carried even further by the author of the chapter on the Hittites, *ibid.* v. II. 253 ff. The names

term "Shubartu" is used indiscriminately for Assyria at the time of Assurbanipal.²² This alone would be quite sufficient to rule the "Subarean" out of court. But there are further equally weighty arguments. The most extensive literary remains of the linguistic group under discussion are the so-called Hurri sections of the archives of Boghaz Keui. The language of those inscriptions is definitely and repeatedly designated as Hurri (the adjective *hur-*li-li** occurs 16 times according to Forrer.²³ Obviously this was the name by which their speech was known to the Hurrites themselves. For this very reason even so ardent a champion of the "Subarean" cause as Ugnad retains the name Hurri for the respective sections of the Boghaz Keui inscriptions. Curiously enough it was also Ugnad who first claimed absolute identity for the languages of the Hurri and of the Mitanni.²⁴ The glaring inconsistency of such a position is patent. On present evidence the name Hurri is the only correct common term for the entire linguistic group. This of course does not preclude the existence of entirely different names for the various tribes of Mesopotamia that may have used the Hurri language for purposes of daily intercourse or preserved Hurri elements in their proper names. The Assyrians and Babylonians spoke dialects of Akkadian and not, as we used to say, Babylonian or Assyrian. The people of the United States do not yet necessarily speak United States. Possible tribal subdivisions into separate political units do not prevent us from applying a well established general name for a larger group of people demonstrably related linguistically and very likely also ethnically.

There is one more point to be made in connection with the problem of the distribution of Hurrite tribes. After the time of the twelfth dynasty Egyptian records substitute for the older *Rezenu* the term *H-r* which ultimately comes to include Syria as well as Palestine.²⁵ This designation is now generally connected with the *Horites* of the Bible particularly since the identification of the Biblical tribe with "cave dwellers" has long been viewed with considerable scepticism.²⁶ Winckler's further identification of the *H-r-Horites* with the Hurri of the Boghaz-Keui inscriptions²⁷ was bound, however,

Takuwa and *Akit-Teshup* are, according to this writer "of Amorite sound!" The name *Shutatarra* "recalls the *Sutu*" and the country of which *Shutatarra* was ruler (*Kinza*) together with *Katna* whose prince bears such a name as *Aki-izzi* are, nevertheless, "probably Semitic states" (262-3). If all philologists drew conclusions with similar abandon there would be no linguistic or ethnic problems left for us to solve.

²² Streck, *Assurbanipal*, I. 417. n. 3, 418. n. 2.

²³ *Op. cit.* 188, 195 ff.

²⁴ ZA, 36. 101.

²⁵ See Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 137, 148 ff., 240; Spiegelberg in *OLZ*, 1906. 106 f.

²⁶ For literature see Burney, *Judges*, LVII. n. 3.

²⁷ MDOG, XXXV. 49 ff.

to meet with serious objections so long as the Hurri were still taken for Aryans. Eduard Meyer was prompt to point out that the *Horite* genealogies of the Bible consist of Semitic names and cannot be attributed to an Indo-European population.²⁸ But our views on the ethnic relations of the people made known through the archives of the Hittite capital have changed considerably in the last few years. It is now the Hittites whose language we are forced to assign to the Indo-European group, at least as far as grammatical structure is concerned, whereas the linguistic material of the Hurrites has been found totally unrelated.²⁹ This removes out of the way an important objection to the assumption of a possible original relationship between the *Horites* and the Hurri.³⁰ The *Horite* names do not offer in this connection a really serious difficulty. In districts as far removed from the center of the Hurrite culture as the region of the Dead Sea we would naturally expect Semitization of names differing from those of the rest of the population. We know this to have happened even in sections with a solid Hurrite stock. In the material from Nuzi we frequently find bearers of thoroughly Semitic names amidst hosts of purely Hurrite relations. Besides, the Semitic character of the *Horite* names may not be as thoroughgoing as it is claimed to be. A number of elements might just as well belong to the Nuzi material. The common name $\text{ን}\text{ש}\text{ׁ}\text{נ}$ to give here just one example, is remarkably reminiscent of the Hurrite name *Taisheni* with which we meet frequently in the Nuzi tablets. It is also worthy of notice that, as Meyer points out, animals played an important part in the life of the *Horites*. This can still be traced through such names of cities as *Ophra* 'gazelle,' *Ayyalon* 'deer,' and the like.³¹ Now it is precisely these animals that figure most prominently on the seal impressions of the tablets from Nuzi. Facts like these make it very probable that there was an important Hurrite element in the population of ancient Palestine, though one is not as yet justified to speak about it in positive terms.

The presence of Hurrite elements in Mesopotamia can be traced back to very ancient times. The name *Arisēn* which is typical for that group is found on an inscription belonging to the time of the Dynasty of Akkad.³² From then on Hurrites are found with increasing frequency. The tablets from Drehem, dating from the period of the Dynasty of Ur, mention them frequently.³³ At the time of the First Dynasty, and especially in the Kassite

²⁸ *Op. cit.* 467 end.

²⁹ Curiously enough, the very opposite is held by Winckler in *MVAG*, 1913. 4. 76.

³⁰ Now considered probable by Ungnad, *ZA*, 35. 138. n. 1.

³¹ *Op. cit.* 467. As for the possible equation of $\text{ን}\text{ש}\text{ׁ}\text{נ}$ = *Taisheni* it should be added that *d* and *t* are not distinguished in our texts.

³² *RA* 9. 1.

³³ Landsberger, *op. cit.* 229.

period, they seem to have been widely scattered throughout the cities of Babylonia.³⁴

Were the Hurrites the original population of Mesopotamia? A tendency to consider them as such may be observed in some of the latest literature on the subject.³⁵ Decisive in this connection are said to be the names of the alleged founders of Ashur *Uspia* and *Kikia*, whose "Subarean" origin is all but universally assumed.³⁶ Similarly, the names of the kings of *Gutium* who ruled over Mesopotamia for a considerable part of the third millennium have been taken as an indication of the "Subarean" origin of the dynasty, following an extremely doubtful identification of the name of one of the kings by Christian.³⁷ We must beware of substituting "Pan-Subareanism" or "Pan-Hurritism" for the former "Pan"-menaces. There is as yet nothing in the material available to justify such an assumption. Recent excavations at Ashur have shown that the very oldest cultural influences at Ashur clearly point to Sumeria.³⁸ The period of *Uspia* and *Kikia* is represented by the third stratum, hence these kings are not to be mistaken for the real founders of Ashur.³⁹ What we do know is that Hurrite tribes occupied extensive areas of Mesopotamia as early as the third millennium. Under the leadership of an Indo-European ruling class they established in the second millennium the powerful Mitanni-Hurri empire which vied with Egypt and Hatti for the supremacy of the East.⁴⁰

³⁴ Ungnad, *BA*, VI. 5. 8 ff. The general name of the group may have been preserved in the name of the country *Hurrâna* (South-West of Lake Urmia) which is mentioned as late as the obelisk of Shalmaneser, cf. Streck *ZA*, 15. 259.

³⁵ Ungnad, *Kultwfragen* I. 8.

³⁶ Doubtless by Landsberger, *op. cit.* 230.

³⁷ Cf. his statement in the *Mitt. d. anthrop. Gesellschaft in Wien*, 53. 236. The relationship is assumed on the basis of an alleged similarity between the name of the Gutian king *Imbia* and those of the aforementioned "Mitannian" kings *Uspia* and *Kikia*. This is an argument which it is difficult to credit to so able a scholar as Christian. Apart from the fact that the names of the other known kings of Gutium do not resemble Hurrite names in the least (cf. the list of the kings of Gutium in the *Cambr. Anc. Hist.* I. 670), the *ia* of *Imbia* which is here the only possible element of comparison is merely a hypocoristic ending that had originated most likely in Accadian and was transferred from there to Hurrite names (cf. Landsberger, *op. cit.* 230). Moreover, the first element of the name might be easily taken for Accadian, while there is not a single "Mitannian" name with which it could be connected. It is rather surprising that Lewy (*ZA*, 35. 147) accepted so rashly Christian's suggestion.

³⁸ W. Andrae, *Die Archaischen Ischtar-Tempel in Assur*, Leipsic, 1922, 117.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 118, Lewy, *Studien*, 47.

⁴⁰ For evidence bearing upon the existence of an Indo-European ruling class in Mesopotamia in the second millennium see the article of Eduard Meyer on "Die ältesten datierten Zeugnisse der Iranischen Sprache und der zoroastrischen Religion," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, 42. 1-27; For the Indic gods Mithra,

That the Assyrians should be very intimately connected with that group, both racially and culturally, is only natural. The city of Ashur was surrounded from practically all sides by Hurrite settlements.⁴¹ There can be no doubt that we are witnessing at present the emergence into the light of history of a practically new ethnic group whose importance was very great although it cannot be as yet adequately appraised. However, to speak here of ultimate origins is decidedly premature.

We have attempted in the preceding pages to sketch in very broad outlines a general background for the picture which the material from Nuzi enables us to reconstruct. To make possible a corresponding degree of orientation in time it remains for us to discuss briefly the problem of the dating of the tablets.

It has been indicated above that the material consists of documents of a private family. Consequently, we have no historical records on which to base our discussion.⁴² We are compelled to rely entirely on what internal evidence the tablets may be found to contain. In this respect we are precisely in the same position with the students of the now famous and widely quoted Cappa-

Varuna, Indra, and the Nāsatyā twins in the cuneiform inscriptions cf. the exhaustive literature in Weidner, *Bogh. St.* 8. 32. n. 2, to which should be added Ungnad, *Kulturfragen* I. 11. On the "Aryan" numerals and phrases in the tablet of "Kikkuli from Mitanni," found among the Boghaz Keui inscriptions see especially Sommer, *Bogh. St.* 4. 2-11, and Forrer, *l. c.* 247 ff. One of the most striking results in this connection is the definite establishment of the fact that these early Indo-European words do not show yet the Iranian change of *s* to *h*. Consequently, there cannot be at present any reasonable doubt that the Cassite sungod *Shuriyash* is to be connected with Indic *Sūrya-s*. This, together with other facts which cannot be taken up here in detail, is conclusive proof that Indo-European influence was felt in the second millennium not only in Mitanni but also in Babylonia. (But the Indo-European connections of the Hittites belong to an entirely different source.) To Ungnad's supposition (*Kulturfragen* I. 12) that the name *Mitanni* itself may be ultimately connected with the *Medes* (mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions as *Mat-ai* and *Ma-ta-ai*) one could add that the change of *a* to *i* in closed syllables may be observed in such Iranian words as *Mizda-* for *Mazda-*, and *-pirna* for *-farna* (cf. Meyer, *l. c.* 6). But, unless some new material helps us to settle this question, the above identification must needs remain extremely problematical.

⁴¹ Outside of the land Hanigalbat to the East, the existence of early Hurrite settlements has been established for the districts of Arbela, Simurru, Samarra and, of course, the region of Kerkuk, cf. Landsberger, *l. c.* 229. That *Ninua* was not an originally Semitic city is generally admitted, cf. Meyer, *Gesh.* 2. 610. That it was actually Hurrite may be seen from the characteristic ending *ica*, and also from the fact that the name *Ninuari*, i. e., "the Ninive-ite," appears frequently in the Nuzi tablets.

⁴² To be sure, we do have a few dated tablets. However, for our present purposes this fact is of no importance as the dating is done according to the year of the local mayor (the *Hazannu*), or, at best, after an otherwise unknown minor ruler of the district.

docian inscriptions. In the latter case we have, as is well known, extensive records of an Assyrian business colony in Asia Minor, also without any datable historic allusions. The date of those tablets was therefore considered as a debatable question until the discovery by Thureau-Dangin of the seal of Ibi-Sin king of Ur on one of the tablets.⁴³ The Cappadocian records, the French scholar argued, could not possibly be much later than the Sumerian king in question who reigned towards the end of the third millennium. This argument has since been accepted by almost every student of the subject. Now it so happens that one of the tablets from Nuzi bears an almost identical seal impression of Ibi-Sin. If we followed the reasoning of Thureau-Dangin we would be, accordingly, justified in placing our tablets in the closing centuries of the third millennium. To such an assumption, however, there are here some serious objections. With all due allowances for local variations of the cuneiform characters, the writing of the Nuzian tablets seems to point, nevertheless, to a later date. That seal cylinders need not necessarily be contemporaneous with the records on which they are found does not require especial emphasis. In the case of the Cappadocian tablets the evidence of paleography happens to support the date based on the seal of Ibi-Sin.⁴⁴ But this is merely a coincidence. One might say that the assumption of Thureau-Dangin and others is right not because of the seal but in spite of the seal. As far as the Nuzi tablets are concerned the seal impression in question furnishes little more than a *terminus post quem*. The opposite limit may be fixed by taking into account the political and social conditions as they are revealed in our tablets. Very instructive in this connection is the position of the Assyrians in Nuzi. This appears almost invariably to have been one of inferiority to the native population. We find frequently men with characteristically Semitic names, and expressly designated as coming from Ashur, selling themselves into slavery to one of the magnates of Nuzi. Particularly interesting is the fact that in such cases the people from Ashur are called *Habiru*, interesting both because this is the first time that the appellation *Habiru* is accompanied by purely Semitic names, and also because the bearing of these instances on the *Habiru* problem in general can hardly be overestimated. This, however, is a subject for a special study. There are other indications in the same direction. We are told in one of the tablets that Assyrians (this time not the *Habiru*) who could not fulfill their legal obligations were in the habit of fleeing to Ashur, a fact which does not speak well for the latter's political influence. To be sure, we find bearers of Semitic names appearing as witnesses before the court and holding responsible positions. However, they belong almost invariably to the native stock as the names of their parents or children conclusively show.

⁴³ RA, 8. 144 f.

⁴⁴ Cf. Pinches, *Annals of Archaeology* I. 51.

We thus get a very definite impression that to the Nuzians of our tablets Ashur meant next to nothing in spite of her comparative proximity. But such a state of affairs would have been impossible in the period of Assyria's ascendancy, whose beginnings we can trace to the middle of the 15th century.⁴⁵ This is, therefore, the *terminus ante quem* for the last generation of the tablets from Nuzi. There is little further evidence with a bearing on the date that can be adduced at present. As an argument from silence one may use the cumulative testimony of the proper names. The Hurri names are paralleled by some datable material from the period of the First Dynasty.⁴⁶ The Semitic names are also similar in character to those of the First Dynasty. There seem to be no Indo-European elements, while a few Kassite names can be clearly distinguished from the rest.⁴⁷ Taking all these facts into consideration we arrive at the conclusion that the Nuzi tablets are to be placed between the beginning and the middle of the second millennium. Beyond that it is not advisable to go at present.

Non-committal though the tablets are as regards their date they contain a wealth of information concerning the social conditions of the people by whom they were written. The material consists of a variety of types of records, as e.g., adoption documents, marriage contracts, tablets referring to transfer of property, lengthy legal decisions, and the like, thus enabling us to study the life of the Nuzians from many different angles. The family life of these people emerges with particular distinctness.

According to the testimony of the finds, the excavated area covered two houses belonging to closely related families whose history is unfolded for a period of five generations. These families were very well situated. Apart from the evidence of the written records, this fact is borne out by the very construction

⁴⁵ Cf. R. C. Thompson, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* II. 232.

⁴⁶ Umgad, *BA*, VI. 5. 8 ff.

⁴⁷ This fact in itself does not yet place our tablets in the Cassite period. The country *Nullu*, which is mentioned not unfrequently in our tablets is undoubtedly to be identified with the *Lullu* of the other cuneiform texts (cf. Streck, *Z.A.*, 15. 280 ff.). The *Lul-lubi* (the ending *bi-i*, also written *me*, *me-e*, *ma-a*, and the like, with which may be compared the spelling *nu-ul-lu-a-i* of our tablets, is undoubtedly the Elamite plural ending, cf. Streck, *I. c.* 290, Hüsing, *OLZ*, 1903. 309 ff.) were the immediate Eastern neighbours of Arrapha which explains the close contact of the two countries. (The use of *n* for the initial *l* is paralleled by many examples from the Hurrite group, cf. *Hanigalbat*, *Hanigalbat*, etc.; it may also be noted that the inhabitants of *Siparneña*, situated in the same district, had a reputation for inaccurate pronunciation, cf. Streck, *I. c.* 284). Now the *Lullu* spoke a dialect of the Elamite language, or as Hüsing puts it "North-West Elamite = Cassite" (*I. c.* 401) which could easily account for some infiltration of Cassite elements into Arrapha. Since *Lullu* is mentioned as early as the period of Naramsin (Streck, *I. c.* 290), it is obviously impossible to base even an approximate date on the mere occurrence of Cassite names in that district.

of the uncovered buildings. These included paved courtyards, servant quarters, spacious vestibules, and reception rooms, and were provided with running water, bathing facilities, and all the comforts which one is tempted to call "modern." The founder of the family wealth seems to have been a certain Puhisenni. But he appears himself in very few documents and we know him chiefly as the father of Tehip-Tilla and Surki-Tilla, the owners of the adjoining houses.

Of all the descendants of Puhisenni Tehip-Tilla is best known to us as he figures in practically one half of the documents. His brother and his children receive their share of attention but Tehip-Tilla always remains in the lime-light. One could write quite at length on "The House of Tehip-Tilla." He inherited, to begin with, a good-sized collection of houses, fields, and orchards, situated partly in the city of Nuzi, and partly in the scattered towns and villages nearby. We do not know how Puhisenni came into the possession of his properties but we are left in no doubt as to how Tehip-Tilla and Surki-Tilla proceeded to increase the acquisitions of their father to the best of their ability. Without sufficient knowledge of the prevailing ethical and moral standards of the time, it would be hasty to pass judgment on the actions of these ancient "capitalists." At all events, it can be said that the actions of a Tehip-Tilla were strictly according to the letter of the law,⁴⁸ even if legal means were employed to circumvent existing ordinances, a further indication of the "modernism" of the Nuzians. One example will suffice to make this point clear.

There appears to have been a law in Nuzi forbidding the sale of inherited land. Its purpose was obviously to protect small landowners against the cupidity of the powerful ones, as well as to assist in preserving family possessions intact.⁴⁹ Out of a wholesome respect for this law Tehip-Tilla would never go on record as having actually bought land from the poor peasants. Instead, this law-abiding citizen had himself adopted as their child and took over the land of his adoptive parents. These "parents" received a "gift," generally consisting of some money, grain, or of a few head of cattle, and remained henceforward on their former lands cultivating them for their "child." The poor wretches give up, of course, all claim to ownership. The practice was a common one, and we find thus throughout the land a system of peonage with even worse results than those which the law had set out to avert. For such a mock adoption played into the hands of the landowners even better than a mortgage inasmuch as the land could never be redeemed. Actual mortgages are found in documents but they are not very common. The practice is con-

⁴⁸ How scrupulous the ancient Oriental was on that point is brought out by Winckler, *MVAG*, 1913. 4. 11.

⁴⁹ One is reminded here of the close Biblical parallels.

fined to the wealthy but these do not seem to have wasted any sentiment on each other. When a descendant of Puhisenni was hard pressed his relatives would help him only after the agreement had been duly authenticated by the seals of numerous witnesses, thus proving that even among brothers business was transacted in a very businesslike fashion.

If the relations among the more powerful interests were not excessively cordial, one can easily picture the amount of affection which the "adoptive parents" had for their "benefactors." This may be gathered from the numerous legal decisions which deal with the claim of the unfortunate peasants. But Tehip-Tilla does not seem to have been worried overmuch with such litigations. Unless one supposes that he did not care to advertise his legal setbacks by keeping the records of the cases he lost, one must assume that the rich had a way of their own with the judges when it came to cases against the poor. But even here an attempt was always made to save appearances.

A rich landowner kept strict accounting of all his transactions which serves to explain the large number of tablets found in the two houses. Every case of adoption was carefully recorded on a separate document, authenticated by the seals of a large number of witnesses. An "affidavit" was also taken in the court of justice, located in the main gate of the town, to the effect that the adoptive parent renounces all his rights to the property in question, and that in the future he shall raise no claim against the adopted. It is improbable that the poor peasants also received copies of these transactions. They must be satisfied with the barley which they received in exchange. In case of a lawsuit Tehip-Tilla had only to hunt up his records, which were carefully kept in jars or in reed-baskets, neatly labeled according to their contents, produce them in court and win his case.

Still occasions might arise in which it was either inexpedient or otherwise impossible to produce the written record. Then the statement of the peasant was opposed by a counter-statement of the landowner who would flatly deny the charge. In such cases the judges resorted to the method of trial by ordeal. We do not know how such trials were conducted. They were held at any rate in the "place of the gods" and must have been rather unpleasant, for invariably the peasant is said to have "feared the place of the gods" which was tantamount to the admission that he was in the wrong. He would be then fined a certain sum of money or a few head of cattle and given into the hands of the defendant until he could pay the fine. This usually meant servitude for life.

It can be easily seen that the position of the judges was not an enviable one when the defendant was as powerful as Tehip-Tilla. For in other cases they tried earnestly to deal justly with both parties concerned. In instances

where the dispute concerned out of town properties they would sometimes appoint special officers who were instructed to go to the mayor of the town in question and with the aid of the latter make a thorough investigation of the case.

Very interesting are the cases in which the landowners themselves are prosecutors. Here we usually have a departure from the general run of real estate grievances. The defendants are brought into court for a variety of reasons. Some had stolen animals or provisions; others had maimed plow oxen entrusted to their care. Two men are accused of having eaten a foal instead of reporting his birth to the legitimate owner; still others had accidentally damaged a chariot which had been left without a horse⁵⁰ near the gate of the city. The usual punishment in such cases is a rather heavy fine frequently resulting in slavery.

The condition of the Nuzian women differed little from that of the men. The rich ones, like the mother of Tehip-Tilla, followed the prevalent custom of having themselves "adopted." They could appear as witnesses and had seals of their own. But the poor women were just as badly off as the poor men. They were sold by their fathers into slavery and concubinage. Thus we find the son of Tehip-Tilla, who in many respects seems to have outdone his father, mentioning in one tablet the names of twenty-four members of his harem. In another contract the landowner undertakes to introduce the woman he had just bought as his wife to all the members of his household. The poor creature must have insisted that she would not enter his house practically as a slave. And well she had reason to fear that fate. When a woman was introduced into the house as the wife of one of the slaves the contract stated that, in case of the death of her husband she would be given to another slave, and then possibly to a third and a fourth one, but that she could not be driven out of the house. She was thus doomed to remain a perpetual "wife." Her children, needless to add, were to be born into slavery.

Slaves do not seem to have been protected by the law. They were used for various duties in the house as well as on the field and could be slain with impunity. In a list describing the movement of shepherds and their flocks we find three instances in which shepherds were killed by their masters. The circumstance is mentioned in a very casual manner approximately worded as the following: "Two shepherds of Tarmia; one he slew and the other went on with his flocks to the village so and so." The kind master seems to boast of his even temper in that he only slew one of his two servants in

⁵⁰ On the origin of the horse in Mesopotamia see now the article of A. Koster in the *Festschrift Lehmann-Haupt*, 158-167.

charge of his flocks. The same Tarmia was the guilty party in another similar act. Such little incidents did not affect the social standing of the masters, unless it was to give them a character for energy. Tarmia continues to keep his seat as judge in the court of justice.

The city had a mayor who was always on friendly terms with the more powerful citizens. He often appears as witness in the contracts of Tehip-Tilla and his family. Larger cities had their kings who were equally friendly with men of influence. The scribe of Tehip-Tilla is thus frequently mentioned as the scribe of the king.

The office of the scribe seems to have run in families. Or we should rather say that certain families specialized in that occupation. All the brothers and sons of Taya, the scribe of Tehip-Tilla, were likewise scribes and this is also true of other families of *tupsurs*. There is even a town called "the city of scribes" which reminds one of the Biblical *Qiryath Sepher*. The method of recording various transactions is illustrated by two tablets one of which is almost the exact duplicate of the other, except that it is not complete. The scribe in question had not judged the length of the document correctly, and before he was able to make a complete report the entire tablet was inscribed. He, therefore, had to do the work over again on a larger tablet. The subject matter remains, of course, the same, but there are interesting variations in style and in spelling. Both records had been apparently made from memory.

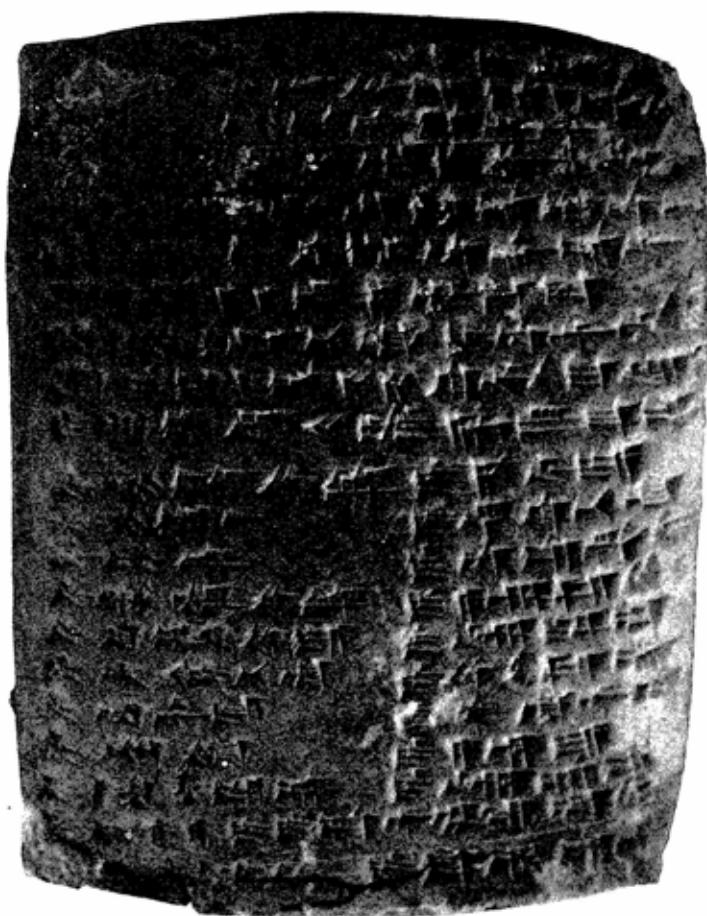
Tehip-Tilla seems to have had a long and successful career. His son Ennammati continued in his father's footsteps only displaying a little less sagacity and a little more sternness in his dealings with his alarmingly large "family." Takku, the son of Ennammati, appears to have had much less initiative than his illustrious predecessors. The influence of the family had already reached its highest point and was now declining rapidly. There are many more law-suits and the judges show much more interest in the claims of the opponents of the family than they had dared to do at the time of Ennammati or Tehip-Tilla. The "parents" seem to have taken heart, often boldly declaring that they had been deprived of their possessions by force. About the son of Takku we hear next to nothing. He had probably a very short time to enjoy what remained of the glory that had once been Tehip-Tilla's. For a relentless enemy, possibly the awakening Assyrian, was soon to overrun the city and raze it to the ground. The house of Puhisenni was never to be rebuilt after the conflagration that had swept the city. Two charred skeletons, one of a woman and the other of a small child, partly buried under the fallen roof, remained as mute witnesses of that catastrophe.

One can hardly overstate the importance of the contribution which the tablets from Nuzi make to our knowledge of the civilization of Mesopotamia

in the second millennium. The main importance of the find lies of course in the fact that the people whose life is so well portrayed in the tablets belong to one of the hitherto unknown races of the Ancient East. It has been long assumed that the differences between the laws of Assyria and those of Babylonia were due to the influence of the Non-Semitic inhabitants of ancient Mesopotamia.⁵¹ A wealth of legal material belonging to that ethnic group will soon be available for careful study. The new material will help us bridge that large gap in our information about the half of the second millennium that separates the Amarna period from the time of the First Dynasty. The numerous seal impressions found on the tablets are a valuable source for the study of the art, and incidentally of the religion, of a new and important race. Additional light on such moot problems as the *Habiru* question may be also reasonably expected. But the work is as yet far from completed. A number of tablets is still to be deciphered and much of the deciphered material requires further and intensive study. But this much one can venture to say at present: when the entire material has been properly studied we shall have acquired considerable knowledge of the life and civilization of the people in question and the house of Puhisenni will have earned its place in the history of the period.

⁵¹ Kohler and Ugnad, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden*, (1913) 466.

[OBVERSE]



Specimen of the tablets found at Nuzi

[REVERSE]



The Reverse shows the seal impressions which are unusually
numerous and large.

A VISIT TO THE COPTIC CONVENTS IN NITRIA

WILLIAM H. P. HATCH

EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

In the month of February 1923 Dr. J. Rendel Harris, Mr. Herbert G. Wood, and the present writer visited the Coptic convents in the Wâdi Naṭrûn.¹ Since many important manuscripts had been discovered in these desert monasteries in times past, we hoped that we might perhaps have the good fortune to find some Christian work in Coptic or Syriac that had eluded former searchers. Such was the purpose of our journey, and in some measure our hopes were realized.²

Although this desert valley is a place of great interest to students of Church history and Christian architecture and can be reached in two days from Cairo by camel and in still less time by train, it is seldom visited by travelers. To be sure the journey to Nitria was formerly considered dangerous, and at times it was forbidden by the authorities on the ground of the risk involved.³ But

¹ The Wâdi Naṭrûn is a desolate valley in the Libyan Desert. It extends northwest and southeast, its eastern end being about fifty miles northwest of Cairo. In it are the seven natron lakes, from which it has derived two of its many names, Nitria and the Wâdi Naṭrûn. This region was called by the Copts Shiēt and Shihēt, a name which the Arabs adopted in the form Shihāt. The Coptic Shihēt was popularly interpreted to mean "measure of hearts," which seemed to be a fitting appellation for the abode of holy men. It corresponds to one of the Arabic names for the district, namely Mizān el-Kulâb, which means "balance of hearts." Shiēt was known to the Greeks as Nitria or Scētis. The latter, which appears in Latin as Scithis and in Arabic as Askit or Askit, is obviously formed from the Coptic name. I have been unable to find any ancient Greek authority for the form Scētē. It is cited by Stephanus (*Thesaurus Graecae Linguæ*, s. r.) as occurring in Palladius's *Historia Lausiaca*, but the critical editions of this work read Σκῆτις *passim*. However, the Syriac forms given by Payne Smith (*Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 318) presuppose both Scētis and Scētē. Niṭrā is also found in Syriac. The northern part of the wâdi about the Natron Lakes was properly designated Nitria and the southern part Scētis. Dom Butler, however, (in *Texts and Studies*, VI, 2, pp. 188 f.) thinks that Scētis lay to the north of Nitria. The Arabs usually speak of Nitria as the Wâdi Habib, because Habib ibn Mughaffal, one of Muhammad's companions, withdrew thither about the middle of the seventh century. So, too, it was called the Desert, or Wâdi, of Macarius after the Christian saint who settled there in the fourth century. It was also known in Arabic as the Wadi Naṭrûn and the Wâdi el-Mulûk, i. e. the Valley of the Kings.

² The writer was at that time Annual Professor in the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, and the expenses of this journey to Nitria were generously defrayed by Mrs. Mary B. Longyear of Brookline, Mass.

³ Cf. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, I, p. 290. See also Sonnini, *Voyage dans la haute et basse Egypte*, II, pp. 167 ff.

when we made the trip, there was apparently no danger, though there were firearms in the party in case of need. An armed guard always kept watch over our tents at night; and when I went with a single Arab guide from our camp near Abū Maķār to El-Baramūs, he carried a double-barreled shotgun in one of his saddle-bags. We saw a few straggling Bedouins in the desert, but they were all quite peaceable.

In the early part of the fourth century many earnest Christians in Egypt were attracted to the ascetic ideal of life, and with this purpose in mind not a few of them went to live in the Nitrian desert. Among the earliest settlers in this region were Ammon, Macarius the Egyptian, Paul the Simple, Macarius the Alexandrian, and Evagrius. The first of these, according to Rufinus, was Ammon, a young man of means and good family.⁴ He was a contemporary of St. Anthony and himself a notable exemplar of the ascetic life. After his death, which is believed to have occurred about 345 A. D., Macarius the Egyptian, a disciple of St. Anthony, became the principal figure in this austere community.⁵

In the latter part of the fourth century Nitria was a popular resort for those who had resolved to renounce the world. Rufinus says that about fifty habitations (*tabernacula*) were to be seen there,⁶ and Palladius estimates the number of dwellers in "the Mountain of Nitria" at about five thousand.⁷ Some of the ascetics lived together in small groups and others were hermits in the strict sense, dwelling apart in solitary cells and coming together for common worship only on Saturdays and Sundays.⁸ The monasticism of Nitria was thus of the semi-eremitical type which was founded by St. Anthony and inspired by his example. The Nitrian monks practiced the ascetic life with great zeal and rigour. They vied with one another in religious exercises, each one being unwilling to be surpassed by any of his brethren.⁹

In due time a number of monasteries were built in the Wâdi Naṭrûn, but most of them have perished.¹⁰ They suffered not only from the ravages of

⁴ Cf. Rufinus, *Historia Monachorum*, XXX; Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, VIII; Socrates, *H. E.* IV, 23; Sozomen, *H. E.* I, 14. See also Athanasius, *Vita Anton.*, 60.

⁵ Cf. Rufinus, *op. cit.*, XXVIII; Palladius, *op. cit.*, XVII.

⁶ Cf. Rufinus, *op. cit.*, XXI. Sozomen (*H. E.* VI, 31) says that there were in Nitria "about fifty monasteries (*μοναστήρια*) close to each other."

⁷ Cf. Palladius, *op. cit.*, VII, 2. Jerome (*Ep.* 108.14) speaks of "thousands of monks" in Nitria.

⁸ Cf. Palladius, *op. cit.*, VII, 5; Sozomen, *H. E.* VI, 31.

⁹ On the origin and character of early Egyptian monasticism see Dom Butler in *op. cit.*, VI, 1, pp. 228 ff.

¹⁰ According to the Arab historian El-Makrizî (1364-1442) there were in former times one hundred monasteries in the Wâdi Naṭrûn, of which seven were still standing in his time. He gives the names of these as follows: Bû Maķār, Bû Juhannas el-

time and the violence of enemies, but also from changing economic conditions, theological controversy, and the decay of the monastic ideal of life. The convents were burned and plundered for the last time in the patriarchate of Marcus II. (799-819).¹¹ They were then practically destroyed; so that, "with the possible exception of a single building and some isolated fragments," whatever chapels or other buildings are now to be seen in the Wâdi Naṭrûn date from the ninth or following centuries.¹²

At the present time there are only four monasteries in Nitria: Abû Makâr, Deir es-Sûriâni, Anbâ Bishôi, and El-Baramûs. The Abyssinians and Armenians once had convents of their own in the Wâdi Naṭrûn; and Deir es-Sûriâni, as its name indicates, was for several centuries occupied by Syrian monks.¹³ But there are no longer separate houses for different nations or races. All four of the existing monasteries are inhabited by Copts.

A once great religious colony has been reduced to a mere handful of ill-fed and ill-clothed monks, whose only purpose in life seems to be the regular performance of the services of the Coptic Church. Their mother tongue is Arabic, and very few of them know any Coptic at all. When we visited Nitria, there were only eighty-three monks in the four convents. One is reminded of the populousness of this region in former times by the ruins of ancient religious houses which can still be seen here and there in the desert.

Kâfir, Sîdet Bû Juhannas, Bû Bishâi, Deir es-Sûriâni (the name is not used), Sîdet Baramûs, Mûsa or Abû Mûsa el-Aswad or Baramûs. He also mentions the names of four of those that had been destroyed: Juhannas Kamâ, Eliâs, Anbâ Nûb, Deir el-Armen. Cf. El-Makrizi, *History of the Copts* (in *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, hist.-philol. Classe*, III, pp. 110 ff. = Arabic text, pp. 45 f.). Abû Salîh, who wrote early in the thirteenth century, mentions incidentally only Abû Ma'kar and El-Baramûs. Wansleb (in Paulus, *Sammlung der merkwürdigsten Reisen in den Orient*, III, p. 255) found the names of seven Nitrian convents in an old Arabic manuscript: St. Macarius, St. John the Little, Anbâ Bishôi, Sts. Maximus and Timotheus, Anbâ Mûsa, Anbâ Kamâ, and Deir es-Sûriâni. I have changed the form of some of these names as given by Wansleb. The monks also have a tradition concerning the existence of many religious houses in this region. Wansleb (*loc. cit.*) heard of three hundred "houses for hermits and anchorites," and Huntington (in Smith, *D. Roberti Huntingtoni Episcopi Rapotensis Epistolae*, p. 69) and the Jesuit missionary Sicard (in Paulus, *op. cit.*, V, p. 21) were told that this district formerly contained "as many monasteries as there are days in the year."

¹¹ Cf. El-Makrizi in *op. cit.*, III, pp. 58 f. = Arabic text, p. 23.

¹² Cf. White in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, Nov. 1921, pt. II, p. 59.

¹³ Cf. El-Makrizi in *op. cit.*, III, p. 111 = Arabic text, p. 46. Speaking of Deir es-Sûriâni, he says: "It was in the hands of the Jacobites, then the Syrian monks possessed it for about three hundred years, and it is in their hands now." Curzon (*Visits to Monasteries in the Levant*, pp. 105 ff.) found a colony of Abyssinian monks here in 1837.

If these ruined monasteries were excavated, it is quite likely that valuable manuscripts would be found.

My two English friends, Dr. Harris and Mr. Wood, met me in Cairo according to a prearranged plan. Here we obtained from the Coptic patriarch a letter of introduction to the priors of the Nitrian convents and secured a thoroughly competent dragoman in the person of Muhammed Hassan, who had previously conducted parties to the Wâdi Natrûn. The latter had at his disposal the necessary tents, camels, and servants, as well as a horse-drawn sandcar, which enabled Dr. Harris to make the journey with much comfort.

Having completed our preparations, we set out from the pyramids of Gizeh in the forenoon of February 14th and traveled in a northwesterly direction along the edge of the desert for two and a half days. Then we halted and remained a day in camp, in order that Hassan and his servants might get fresh supplies from a nearby village in the Delta. The next morning we packed our tents and baggage upon the camels and at about eight o'clock we were off. Leaving the fertile valley of the Nile behind us, we made our way westward directly across the desert towards the Nitrian convents. At four o'clock in the afternoon we pitched our tents and established a permanent camp not far from the wall of Abû Makâr, which is the easternmost of the four monasteries.¹⁴ We called at once on the prior and presented our letter of introduction. The monks were glad to see strangers and received us cordially. Coffee was served and we conversed for about half an hour, and then we returned to our quarters.

These religious houses are all essentially alike. The masonry is covered with plaster or cement made of sand, and hence the wall and buildings are not different in colour from the desert which surrounds them on every side. The whole aspect is most desolate and barren. There are no trees outside the wall, and no well-defined road or path leads to the low, narrow gate, which is securely barred on the inside. Provision is also made to barricade the gate with a large stone in case of need. A massive tower, called in Arabic the kasr, rises to a considerable height above the top of the wall, relieving somewhat the monotony of the skyline. The kasr, or fortress, was intended as a place of retreat for the monks in case the convent was attacked by enemies. It contains one or more chapels, and sometimes the library is here, too. It is customary to dedicate one of the chapels in the tower to St. Michael. On the wall above the gate hangs a bell. When a visitor comes, he pulls the rope attached to the bell, and presently the gate is opened by one of the monks.

¹⁴ According to Sonnini (*op. cit.*, II, p. 215) it was also called Amba Monguar, or by the Arabs simply Monguar. Russegger (*Reisen in Europa, Asien und Afrika*, I, p. 189) says it was known among the Arabs as El-Magarin.

Inside the wall there is always a well, and generally a few palm trees and a vegetable garden.

The following morning we visited Abū Makār again, and this time we had a good opportunity to see the monastery and to get some idea of the life led by the monks, of whom there were then fifteen in residence. They showed us several chapels and the mummified bodies of twenty holy men.¹⁵ Some of the chapels contain rude icons, and of the mummies we were told that three had borne the name of Macarius.¹⁶

We were of course chiefly interested in the library, and the monks were very willing to have us inspect it and showed us every courtesy.¹⁷ We found there, however, only paper manuscripts and printed books. Most of the former were Arabic or Coptic-Arabic, but some were written in Coptic only. I detected in a wooden box several paper leaves rudely bound together which seemed to be more interesting than the rest, and I quietly laid them to one side. When we were ready to leave the convent, I asked the prior if I might take them with me, and after some hesitation he allowed me to do so.¹⁸

I wanted to photograph the prior of Abū Makār, but he protested so vigorously that even a snapshot was out of the question. As we left him at the gate of the monastery and turned to go to our tents, Hassan, our dark-skinned Arab guide, observed, "The prior does not look like you and me." He had a typical Coptic face, the prototype of which can still be seen on the statues of the ancient inhabitants of Egypt. His complexion was yellowish, his black eyes large and full, his nose straight and round at the end, his lips rather thick, and his beard black and curly. Measured by European standards, he was, like his forbears, somewhat below the medium stature. Though the Copts have been subject to foreign masters for centuries and at the present

¹⁵ For an account of the four Nitrian convents and their various chapels from the architectural point of view see Butler, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 286 ff.

¹⁶ Rufinus (*op. cit.*, XXVIII and XXIX) mentions two Macarii who dwelt in Nitria and shone as "the two luminaries of heaven." The elder Macarius, who was a disciple of St. Anthony, is said to have come from Upper Egypt; whereas the younger was an Alexandrian. Cf. Socrates, *H. E.* IV, 23; Sozomen, *H. E.* III, 14. The third Macarius, according to El-Makrizi (in *op. cit.*, III, p. 111 = Arabic text, p. 46), was a bishop. Père Sicard (in Paulus, *op. cit.*, V, p. 20) thinks he was probably a follower of Dioscorus, and perhaps the Monothelite patriarch of Antioch who was deposed by the sixth general council.

¹⁷ The library was visited by J. S. Assemani in the eighteenth century, by Tattam and Tischendorf in the nineteenth, and by Mr. Evelyn White in 1921. Each of these scholars secured here valuable manuscripts or fragments of manuscripts. Le Sieur Granger (*Relation du voyage fait en Egypte*, p. 179) records that he was unable to gain admittance to the library either at Abū Makār or at Deir es-Sūriānī.

¹⁸ In this booklet are three leaves which once formed part of a Bohairic version of the *Certamen Apostolorum*. These I hope to publish later.

time occupy an inferior economic and social status, they are nevertheless a proud race. As the descendants of the ancient Egyptians they feel that Egypt rightfully belongs to them, and that the Arabs and the British are quite as much intruders to-day as were the Greeks and the Romans centuries ago. There has of course been some intermarriage between the Copts and other stocks, but in spite of this fact there can be no doubt that the ancient blood of Egypt is far better preserved in these people than is that of ancient Greece or Rome in the modern Greeks or Italians. Since the Arab conquest the Copts have been more than ever a people apart, and hence they may justly be regarded as faithful representatives of the Egyptian race as it existed in the seventh century after Christ.

In the afternoon of the same day we went to Deir es-Sûriâni¹⁹ and Anbâ Bishôi,²⁰ two neighbouring monasteries, which lie about ten kilometers north of west from Abû Makâr and can be clearly seen from the latter. We traversed the "Path of the Angels," a way which the angels are said to have marked with stones in olden times in order to enable the pious hermits to go to divine service.²¹ Far off on our right the natron lakes shone like bluish mirrors set in the sand, and near them stood the buildings of the salt and soda works. This establishment and the railway which serves it are the only reminders of modern life in this desolate region. When we came to the convents, we presented our letter of introduction and were kindly received in both places.

At Deir es-Sûriâni the monks show a tamarind tree which is said to have sprung miraculously from the staff of St. Ephrem. Trees of this kind are rare in Lower Egypt.²² We saw here the mummies of two former priors of the convent, one a Syrian and the other a Copt. An inscription in Estrangela letters is carved in wood about the entrance to one of the chapels, and inside the same chapel is fixed in the wall a stone bearing a Coptic inscription. Unfortunately we did not have time to read or copy either of them. Many graffiti are scribbled on the walls at this monastery. Most of them, as one would expect, are in Arabic; but some are in Coptic and Ethiopic, and we

¹⁹ Père Sicard (in Paulus, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 22 f.) says that this was the most beautiful of the four Nitrian convents.

²⁰ I saw the name written thus at the monastery in Coptic: **ἌΒΒΑ ΠΙΦΩΦΙ**. In Arabic, however, the usual form is Anbâ Bishâi (أب بشاي), though Butler (*op. cit.*, I, p. 308) gives Anbâ Bishôi (أب بسوى). Tischendorf (*Reise in den Orient*, I, p. 123) calls the convent Ambeschun.

²¹ Cf. Wansleb in Paulus, *op. cit.*, III, p. 255; Butler, *op. cit.*, I, p. 308.

²² Most visitors at Deir es-Sûriâni mention this tree. Cf. Wansleb in Paulus, *op. cit.*, III, p. 256; Huntington in Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 f.; Sicard in Paulus, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 22 f.; Sonnini, *op. cit.*, II, p. 211; Andréossi, *Mémoire sur la Vallée des Lacs de Natron*, p. 17; Tischendorf, *op. cit.*, I, p. 123; Butler, *op. cit.*, I, p. 318.

noticed one Syriac graffito. There were sixteen monks at Deir es-Sûriâni at the time of our visit.²³

At Anbâ Bishôi the prior conducted me to an upper room where there were fragments of paper manuscripts lying about on the floor in great profusion. I rummaged at will among the débris and picked up several leaves containing parts of Matthew, Luke, John, Acts, and James, as well as some liturgical fragments. All these were willingly given to me for the asking.²⁴

There were twenty-two monks in residence at this convent. They showed us their chapels and the mummified bodies of several holy men who had lived at the monastery in former times. One of them was the body of Anbâ Bishôi himself.²⁵

About two miles south of Deir es-Sûriâni and Anbâ Bishôi are the ruins of several of the religious houses mentioned by El-Mâkrîzî. According to this writer six convents stood close together in this part of the Wâdi Nafrûn: Bû Juhannas el-Kâşîr, Juhannas Kamâ, Eliâs, Sîdet Bû Juhannas, Anbâ Nûb, and Deir el-Armen.²⁶ These were all destroyed in El-Mâkrîzî's time except Bû Juhannas el-Kâşîr and Sîdet Bû Juhannas.²⁷ Amid the ruins of Bû Juhannas el-Kâşîr is an ancient service-tree which is known as the "Tree of Obedience." The monks say that it was once a staff which was thrust into the sand by the superior of John the Short. The abbot bade John to water it every day, and the faithful monk tended it as he was told for two years. Then, in order to reward his obedience, God caused the staff to take root and become a flourishing tree.²⁸

The next morning we visited Deir es-Sûriâni and Anbâ Bishôi again, for on the previous day we had not had time to inspect the libraries thoroughly. Moreover, Dr. Harris thought that we might perhaps discover some important Syriac manuscript at Deir es-Sûriâni. This monastery once had a great library, and it was here that Archdeacon Tattam in 1842 acquired the so-

²³ Tischendorf (*op. cit.*, I, pp. 126 f.) says that in one of the chapels at Deir es-Sûriâni there is a picture of the Madonna which is said to have been painted by St. Luke. It was not pointed out to us.

²⁴ Two of the manuscripts collated by Horner for his edition of the Bohairic version of the New Testament, viz. L (Gregory 28) and M (Gregory 15), once belonged to this monastery.

²⁵ According to El-Mâkrîzî (in *op. cit.*, III, p. 111 = Arabic text, p. 46) Anbâ Bishôi "was one of the monks who are in the class of Macarius and John the Short (el-Kâşîr)."

²⁶ Cf. El-Mâkrîzî in *op. cit.*, III, p. 111 = Arabic text, p. 46.

²⁷ Wansleb (in Paulus, *op. cit.*, III, p. 256) says that Bû Juhannas el-Kâşîr was in very bad condition when he was in Nitria, i. e. in 1672.

²⁸ Cf. Wansleb in Paulus, *op. cit.*, III, p. 256; Sicard in Paulus, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 21 f.; White in *op. cit.*, pt. II, Nov. 1921, p. 58.

called Curetonian manuscript of the Old Syriac Gospels, which is now in the British Museum. We examined the libraries of both convents as carefully as we could; but we found only paper manuscripts in Arabic and Coptic, and at Deir es-Sûriâni one vellum or parchment codex in Ethiopic. We saw no Syriac books of any kind in either of the libraries.

On the morning of the next day I set out with an Arab servant named Abdûl for El-Baramûs, which is the westernmost of the Nitrian monasteries.²⁹ It is somewhat more than twenty kilometers northwest of Abû Makâr, and the journey thither by camel took about three hours. Dr. Harris and Mr. Wood spent the day in camp. El-Baramûs was more prosperous and well-kept than the other religious houses in the Wâdi Naârûn,³⁰ and thirty monks were then living there. The prior, whose name was Cyril, welcomed me in a most hospitable manner, and I soon discovered that he could speak some English. He invited me to remain at the convent several days, but such a prolonged stay was quite impossible for me. I ate my lunch in the guests' apartment, which was well furnished and attractive; and then the prior took me for a tour of the monastery.

In the library, which was clean and well arranged, I saw many paper manuscripts in Coptic and Arabic, as well as a number of printed books in various languages. There were no loose leaves lying about to be had for the asking, and I was obliged to leave El-Baramûs with no souvenir of my visit except the memory of a pleasant day and the courtesy of my English-speaking host.³¹

Two chapels were shown to me at this convent. One of them in particular was large and light, and it contained a number of good modern pictures. Here are preserved the mummified bodies of two holy men, Maxîmûs and Dûmâdîûs, who are much revered at El-Baramûs. The prior told me that they were brothers of Constantine and the founders of the monastery. El-Makrîzî says that they were the sons of a Greek emperor, whose name he

²⁹ The name Baramûs appears to be a corruption of the Coptic ΠΡΦΜΕΟC, i. e. the Roman. ΡΦΜΕΟC, however, like the Arabic *rûmi*, was used to denote a Greek as well as a Roman. Cf. Paulus, *op. cit.*, V, p. 335. According to le Sieur Granger (*op. cit.*, p. 174) and Russegger (*op. cit.*, I, p. 189), this monastery was called Labiat.

³⁰ Tischendorf (*op. cit.*, I, p. 127) says that the cells at El-Baramûs were "am schwärzesten und am engsten."

³¹ Dr. Butler (*op. cit.*, I, p. 333) saw in the tower of El-Baramûs a pile of loose leaves that had once formed parts of codices. He describes them thus: "Here and there a tiny fragment of early Syriac, Coptic, or even Greek on vellum; half a leaf of a Coptic and Ethiopic lexicon; several shreds of Coptic and Arabic lexicons; countless pages of mediaeval Coptic or Copto-Arabic liturgies." One of the manuscripts used by Horner in his edition of the Bohairic version of the New Testament, viz. D₄ (Gregory 9), formerly belonged to the library of this monastery.

does not give, and the disciples of a Greek monk named Arsâniûs; and that when they died, their father had the church of El-Baramûs built in their name.³² In any case the two princes must have come to Nitria before the schism of 451 A. D., which permanently separated the Copts from the life and traditions of Greek Christianity.

In view of the fact that unpleasant things have been said about El-Baramûs by at least one traveler,³³ it is a pleasure to record the favorable impression which I carried away from the convent. There was about it an unmistakable air of cleanliness and freshness which I did not find elsewhere in Nitria, and it has the finest and best kept garden I saw in this region. The hospitality and courtesy of the prior have already been mentioned. To be sure I was not greeted with the chanting of psalms or the ringing of the great bell or an address of welcome such as Dr. Butler describes in connection with his arrival at El-Baramûs;³⁴ but I was traveling, as I have said, with one Arab servant, and we were received in a simple but friendly manner.

When the sun began to decline in the west, my companion and I took leave of the prior at the monastery gate and set out across the sandy waste for our camp. We retraced our steps in the direction of Abû Makâr and arrived at our tents in time for our evening meal.

Hassan, our guide and friend, decided to take us back to Cairo by a more direct way; and the next morning, when our tents and baggage had been securely packed upon the backs of the camels, we started forth in a south-easterly direction, following the usual caravan route through the western desert.³⁵ Until now we had had good weather ever since we left Cairo. The

³² Cf. El-Makrizî in *op. cit.*, III, p. 112 = Arabic text, p. 46. According to Abû Salih (in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, pt. VII, fol. 53b) the emperor's name was Valentinian (أولتريون), and Maximûs and Dûmâdiûs were priors of El-Baramûs. On the other hand in a fourteenth century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Bib. Or. 258, fol. 10°) they are said to have been the sons of a Greek emperor named Leo. Cf. Butler, *op. cit.*, I, p. 329. Wansleb (in Paulus, *op. cit.*, III, p. 255), on the authority of "an old Arabic manuscript," speaks of a convent dedicated to Saints Maximus and Timotheus. I have written 'Dûmâdiûs,' which is the form found in Abû Salih and El-Makrizî. 'Dûmâdiûs' is probably a corruption of 'Timotheus.' The prior of El-Baramûs seemed to pronounce the name 'Dômenius' or 'Dûmenius.' Arsenius, who was called the Great, retired to Nitria about 394 and dwelt there until 434. He was the tutor of Arcadius and Honorius, the two sons of Theodosius the Great. The story narrated by El-Makrizî may be based in part upon this fact.

³³ Cf. Sonnini, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 179 ff.

³⁴ Cf. Butler, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 327 ff. According to Rufinus (*op. cit.*, VIII) it was customary to deliver an address on the arrival of guests.

³⁵ It was known as the Derb el-Hagg el-Meghârbeh, being the route taken by Muslim pilgrims from North Africa to Mecca.

air had been clear and the sky cloudless, and the sun had shone bright and hot upon the endless expanse of sand. But to-day the sky was hazy and a strong wind was blowing out of the west. The loose sand was lifted up and borne rapidly along in clouds several feet above the ground. It filled the air as high as the backs of the camels. The sharp grains stung our faces and obscured our vision, and the shifting sand made the path before us difficult to follow. We realized then what a serious sandstorm in the desert was like, and we could easily picture to ourselves the utter helplessness of a traveler caught in a simoon. We pitched our tents that afternoon at half-past three.

The next morning was bright and clear, and we continued our journey towards Cairo without hindrance. As we traveled over the undulating country, we noticed here and there the tracks of gazelles, and once we sighted two or three of the frightened creatures a long way off.

Several times we saw bits of petrified wood and even the petrified trunks of palm trees. Pointing to one of these, Abdūl said to me: "He was a tree, Allah made him a stone." We were passing through a part of the great valley which the Arabs call the Waterless Sea (*Bahr bilā Mā*) or the Empty Sea (*Bahr el-Fārgh*), which lies a little to the south of the Wādi Natrūn. It was once a fertile region, when the Nile flowed westward of its present course and perhaps emptied into the Mediterranean in the neighbourhood of Lake Mareotis.³⁶ It is said that pirates used to sail this sea and trouble the hermits who dwelt in the desert, until in answer to the prayers of St. Macarius the sea was dried up. The petrified logs are declared to be the remains of the pirates' ships.³⁷

Abdūl also called my attention to a small white building far off on our left. He explained that it was a wēli, that is the burial place of a Muslem saint. According to Abdūl it was the wēli of a pious woman who died on a pilgrimage to Mecca and was buried in the desert. Women saints are rare in Islam, and I was particularly sorry that we did not have time to make a detour and visit this sacred place. We kept on our way in the direction of Cairo, and late in the afternoon we halted and pitched our tents in sight of the pyramids of Gizeh.

The next morning we were up betimes, and after an hour and a half of fast riding we were at the end of our journey. Hassan had promised the

³⁶ Sonnini (*op. cit.*, II, p. 200) describes the *Bahr bilā Mā* as "ancien lit d'une communication entre les lacs Moeris et Maréotis." See also Paulus, *op. cit.*, V, p. 335; Andréossi, *op. cit.*, p. 13; and Curzon, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

³⁷ Cf. Wansleb in Paulus, *op. cit.*, III, p. 256; Huntington Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 68; Butler, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 337 f. Le Sieur Granger (*op. cit.*, pp. 174) was told by the monks of El-Baramūs that it was St. Ephrem whose prayers effected the drying up of the sea, and that the enemy who vexed the hermits were Arabs.

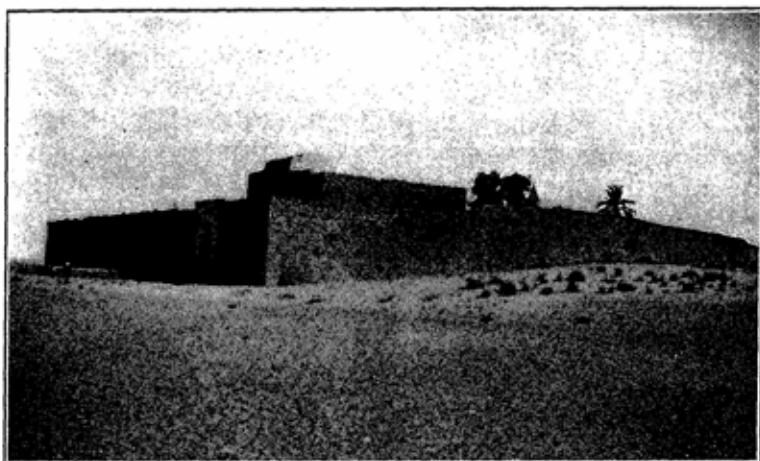
night before that we should be at the pyramids by nine o'clock in the morning, and he had kept his word by a comfortable margin. I dismounted from my camel, and there he stood, his watch in his hand and a smile of complete self-approval playing over his dusky features, as he laconically remarked, "I am Hassan." It was now the 24th of February, and we had been gone from Cairo ten whole days.



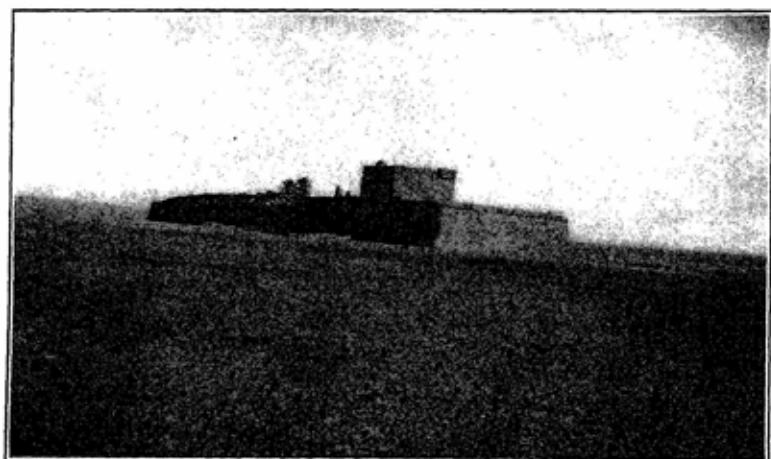
Gate at Abū Makār



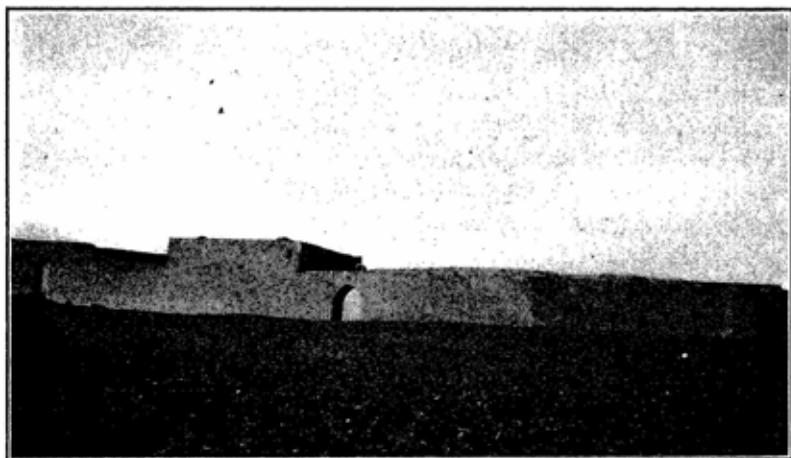
At Deir es-Sûriâni
Hassan, one of the monks, and the prior.



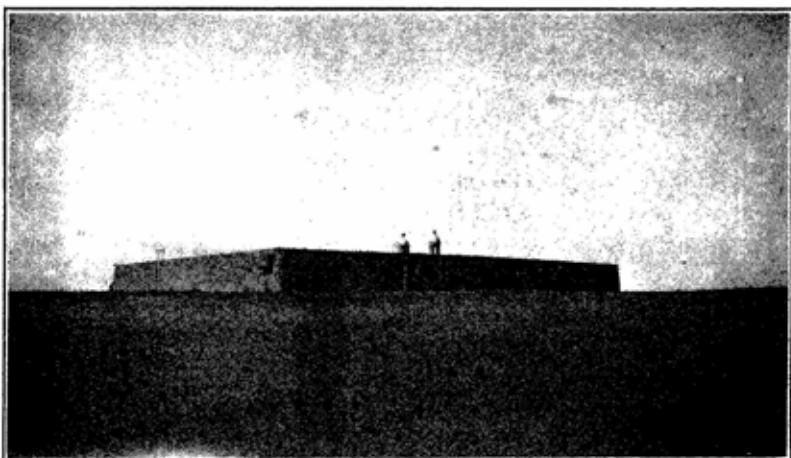
Bishōi



Deir es-Sūriāni



Abū Makār



El-Baramūs

THREE COPTIC FRAGMENTS FROM NITRIA.¹

WILLIAM H. P. HATCH

EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

The fragments discussed in the present article were found by the writer at Deir Abû Makâr in February 1923; and, as one would expect from the locality in which they were discovered, they are all in the Bohairic dialect. They are written on two leaves of yellowish paper. The writing is arranged in a single column and inclines slightly to the left, and the ink is brown. Initials and the letters **Φ** and **Ψ** are ornamented with red, and the marks of punctuation are red. The following abbreviations occur: **Φ†**, **π̄οc**, **ῑhc**, **π̄ixc**, **π̄na**, and **π̄ap**.

Fragment I is part of a Monophysite work on Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria, who was condemned at the council of Chalcedon and died in exile three years later.² The leaf which contains it is 24.5 cm. in length and 16.5 cm. in width, and there are twenty lines on each page. The only mark of punctuation used is **፤**. This fragment dates from the early part of the fourteenth century.

Fragments II and III are taken from theotokias.³ The leaf on which they

¹ I desire to express my thanks to Professor Henri Ilyvernat, S. T. D., of the Catholic University in Washington, who has very kindly aided me in my present task with his abundant Coptic learning.

² There is nothing corresponding to this fragment in the Syriac *History of Dioscorus* published by Nau in the *Journal Asiatique* (Xme Série, i., pp. 5-108; 241-310) or among the Coptic (Sahidic) fragments relating to Dioscorus printed by Crum in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (xxv., pp. 267-276). Nor is the fragment from the *Panegyric of Macarius of Tkōou*, which is wrongly attributed to Dioscorus. Cf. Amélineau, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Egypte chrétienne aux iv^e et v^e siècles* (in *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire*, iv., pp. 92 ff.). Nau (in *op. cit.*, Xme Série, i., p. 13) says: "Peu après la mort de Dioscore, on écrit en Egypte un certain nombre de récits en sa faveur, parmi ceux-ci pouvait se trouver un récit, écrit par Théopiste, de la réunion du concile de Chalcedoine et de l'exil à Gangres." It is possible that the fragment here published belonged to one of these works.

³ A theotokia is a hymn or poetical composition sung in honor of the Virgin. In the Greek Church a troparion of this sort is called a theotokion. These two fragments can be seen in Tuki's edition of the theotokias (**π̄ixw̄m n̄t̄c nīθ̄-εοτοκία n̄t̄c kata τάξιc n̄t̄c π̄ιαβοτ̄ χοιάκ**, Rome, 1764, p. **PA**). Fragment III follows immediately after Fragment II. See also Labib, **π̄ixw̄m n̄t̄c τ̄χλμοδιά εθ̄y n̄t̄c ρομπī**, 'Ain Shems, 1908.

are preserved measures 19 cm. \times 13.25 cm. There are sixteen lines on the page containing Fragment II and seventeen on that containing Fragment III. Four marks of punctuation are employed, viz. \cdot - \cdot \cdot - \cdot ; and the writing is of the fourteenth century. The first line of Fragment III is in red.

FRAGMENT I.

μογ̄⁴ εροq · ε̄τσυναγφη · ḥ̄τε πιαταναс · ε̄ταφ
 ε̄θογн · ε̄πιμа ε̄теммау · аqнау ε̄занмнф ·
 ḥ̄гого ε̄мафв · ε̄θ-вe фai аqхос · хe оy ̄мmet-
 ьаe · ε̄тe πиnaгt ε̄тcoутвn · ε̄ръaе ̄мmoq⁵ ·
 аqхos naq ̄мpaирh · хe ̄вeн picoбni ̄мpoуro ·
 аq-фoуgт ̄nnimh · eфwнq ̄mpiнаgт · сaтotq aq-
 хos nwoу · хe eфwп aqфan-фoуgт · ̄nnaimh
 eтoф · eθ-вe ihc piхc · tnaгemci aноk · ̄ntacaxi
 nъhtq · ̄mfi εta piхc · сaхi ̄mmoq ̄nрwі · alla
 сeмpiwa nhi · ̄ntaeromoloгgi · ̄vен piнаgт ε̄тcoу-
 твn · ̄ntaхos ̄mpaирh · хe кyrioc ihc · eм-
 manouhla pennouy · ̄mpeqфwрx eneq · ̄vен neq-
 2вnoy⁶ tирou · alla oyo⁷ ̄noywt · oуfycic ̄noywt ·
 oyon ̄ntaq ̄mmaу · ̄noycoбni⁸ ̄noywt · oyoq хe a
 ̄tmetnoy · 2wttп ēтmetrwmі · ̄mfrh · ̄nтиxh ·
 eс2wttп ēтcaрz · фai pi eпaoуwнq · nem ta-
 amoлoгia (sic) · aноk piexахiсtос · dioskoros pi-
 zhki ·

He was summoned to the synagogue of Satan. When he came in to that place, he saw many more multitudes. On account of this he said, "What

⁴ The word was probably **λύμογт**, the syllable **λу** being at the end of the last line on the preceding page.

⁵ **ммоq** probably refers to the interrogative pronoun **oу** above.

⁶ By **2вnoy** are meant the so-called *operationes* (*divinae, humanae, et mixtae*) in Christ.

⁷ **oC** may possibly be an error for **metoc**, *lordship*.

⁸ **coбni** probably means 'will' here rather than 'counsel.'

deficiency (is there) which the orthodox faith lacks?" They said to him thus: "In the counsel of the king the multitudes have been assembled to pervert the faith." At once he said to them, "If these numerous multitudes have been assembled concerning Jesus Christ, I will sit down and speak in it that which Christ has spoken to my mouth. But I ought to confess the orthodox faith and say thus: Lord Jesus, Emmanuel, our God, has never been divided in all his works; but (he is) one only Lord, one only nature; he has one only will; and the deity has united with the humanity as the soul unites with the flesh. This is my declaration and my confession,—I the least, Dioscorus, the poor."

FRAGMENT II.

ΑΚΕΡΣΥΜΜΕΝΙΝ⁹ ΝΑΝ ḤΠΙΧΦΟ · ḤΤΕ φ† ΕΤΑΦΙ
ΦΑΡΟΝ ·- ΕΚΓΙΦΕΝΝΟΥΓΙ ḤΜΑΡΙΑ ·-· ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ
ΝΑΤΘΩΛΕΒ ·- ΧΕ ΧΕΡΕ ΦΗ ΕΘΜΕΖ ḤΣΜΟΤ ·- ΟΥΟΣ
ΠΙΟΣ ΦΟΠ ΝΕΜΕ ·-· ΑΡΕΧΙΜΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΟΥΣΜΟΤ ·- ΟΥΠΙΝΑ
ΕΦΟΥΑΒ ΕΘ-ΗΝΟΥ ΕΧΦ ·-· ΟΥΧΟΜ ḤΤΕ ΦΗ ΕΤΔΟΣΙ ·-
ΕΘ-ΝΑΕΡΗΝΙΒΙ ΕΡΟ ΜΑΡΙΑ ·-· ΤΕΡΑΜΙСΙ ḤΦΗ ΕΦΟΥΑΒ ·-·
ℳΠΙΣΦΤΗΡ ḤΠΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΡΦ ·-· Λ ΦΙΩΤ ΧΟΥΦΤ ΕΒΟΛ
[ΝΤΦΕ ḤΠΙΕΦΧΕΜ ΤΕΤΟΝΙ ḤΜΟ ΛΦΟΥΦΡΠ ḤΠΕΦΜΟΝΟ-
ΓΕΝΗΣ ΛΦΙΣΑΡΞ ΕΒΟΛ ḤΝΗΤ]¹⁰

Thou heraldest to us the generation of God, who came to us, announcing to Mary, the virgin without spot: "Hail, thou who art full of grace; and the Lord is with thee; for thou hast found grace; a Holy Spirit will come upon thee, a power of the Exalted One will overshadow thee, Mary. Thou wilt bear the Holy One,¹¹ the Saviour of the whole world. The Father looked forth [from heaven; He did not find one like unto thee; He sent his Only Begotten One; He took flesh from thee]."

⁹ -ΣΥΜΜΕΝΙΝ is a corruption of the Greek σημαίνειν.

¹⁰ The words in brackets are taken from Tuki's edition of the theotokias.

¹¹ Cf. Luke 1: 28-35.

FRAGMENT III.

ΟΥΦΑΙ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΟΝ ΕΤΘΩΦΕΜ ΜΠΕΝΛΑΣ ΜΦΟΟΥ -
 ΣΘΡΕΝΕΡΕΥΦΟΜΙΝ¹² - ΝΤΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ ΜΑΡΙΑ - ΕΘΕ ΦΗ
 ΕΤΑΥΜΑΣΨ ΝΑΝ - ΙΕΝ ΘΒΑΚΙ ΝΔΑΥΙΔ - ΠΕΝΣΦΤΗΡ
 ΙΗΣ ΟΥΟΣ ΠΧΣ ΠΟΣ - ΑΜΦΙΝΙ ΝΙΛΑΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ -
 ΝΤΕΝΕΡΜΑΚΑΡΙΖΙΝ ΜΜΟΣ - ΧΕ ΛΣΦΩΠΙ ΜΜΑΥ -
 ΟΥΟΣ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΕΥΣΟΠ - ΧΕΡΕ ΝΕ Ω ΤΠΑΡ - ΘΗ
 ΕΤΤΟΥΒΗΟΥΤ ΝΑΤΤΑΚΟ ; ΕΤΑ ΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΦΙΩΤ
 [ΔΦΙΣΙΑΡΞ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΗΗΤ]¹³

A festival of the Virgin, which invites our tongue to-day to praise the Theotokos Mary on account of him who was born to us in the city of David, our Saviour Jesus and Christ the Lord. Come, all ye peoples, that we may proclaim her blessed, because she was mother and virgin at the same time. Hail to thee, O Virgin, the pure one without blemish, from whom the Word of the Father [took flesh].



¹² -ΕΥΦΟΜΙΝ is probably for -ΕΥΦΩΝΙΝ. Tuki also reads -ΕΥΦΟΜΙΝ here.

¹³ The missing words have been supplied from Tuki's edition of the theotokias.

CATALOGUED.

"A book that is shut is but a block"

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